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CONTENTS

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| | |
|---|-----|
| The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration Bruce Bellingham | 6 |
| Rebec in French Literary Sources from 1379 to 1780 Margaret Anne Downie | 71 |
| Ganassi's Regola Rubertina (Conclusion) Translated by Richard D. Bodig | 99 |
| Tribute to Karl Neumann | 164 |
| Contributor Profiles | 167 |

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Portrait of Anthony Wood at 45 in 1677. From Clark, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, vol. II (*Oxford Historical Society*, vol. XXI), plate III.

The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration

Bruce Bellingham

Of the three invaluable recorders of English musical life in the second half of the seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn, and Anthony Wood, only Anthony Wood wrote detailed accounts that are more than anecdotal. His active participation as an amateur musician in Oxford led him to report on the activities of many other musicians, on the playing of viols, on the rising popularity of the violin family, on the copying and purchase of manuscript and printed music, and on the uniquely retrospective interests of Oxford viol players — all during an age of great political and cultural upheaval in the leading intellectual center of England.

Although he is somewhat known to music scholars through articles by Pamela Willetts¹ and Margaret Crum,² and is mentioned in passing by others,³ little has been written recently on his inde-

Research for this paper was carried on during a sabbatical leave in Oxford, Spring 1981. The writer wishes to thank the following people for their help, advice, and hospitality: Andrew Ashbee, Margaret Crum, Gordon Dodd, Pamela Willetts, and the staff of the Duke Humfrey's Room of the Bodleian Library.

¹ Pamela Willetts, "Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford," *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961): 71-75.

² Margaret Crum, "The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667," *Chelys* 4 (1972): 3-10.

³ See Jack A. Westrup, "Domestic Music Under the Stuarts," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 68 (1941/2): 46; Denis Stevens, "Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library," *Acta Musicologica* 26 (Aug.-Dec. 1954): 67; Vincent Duckles, "The 'Curious' Art of John Wilson (1594-1674): An Introduction to his Songs and Lute Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (Summer 1954): 94; Erich David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 80; David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 25.

fatigable descriptions and accounts.⁴ And yet, his manifold interests and writings have been gathered in an exemplary study for the Oxford Historical Society by Andrew Clark,⁵ which in turn has been abridged by Llewelyn Powys⁶ who observed:

The Oxford antiquary, Anthony à Wood, was a perfect example of his kind, a perfect example of those easily recognizable individuals who advance through life with their heads turned backwards. These people cannot abide that any scrap of the material world should go unregarded. They are precious over each single bone and shard. Their purpose is to mark, to record, to register, and their work, sneered at by the heedless of their day, is often of the greatest value to posterity.⁷

Three principal sources provide the documentation for studying the musical circle of Anthony Wood. The first is "The diarie of the life of Anthony à Wood, historiographer and antiquarie of the most famous University of Oxford . . ." [London, British Library, MS Harley 5409]. This source is on sixty-two leaves, from his birth in 1632 to the end of March, 1659/60,⁸ written in the first

⁴ H. Watkins Shaw's "Extracts from Anthony à Wood's 'Notes on the Lives of Musicians,' Hitherto Unpublished," *Music and Letters* 15 (1934): 156-62, is a brief sampling of Wood's compilation (Bodleian Library, MS Wood D. 19 (4)); this Wood manuscript has been the subject of a recent study by John D. Shute, "Anthony à Wood and his Manuscript Wood D 19 (4) at the Bodleian," Ph.D. diss., International Institute of Advanced Studies, Clayton, Missouri, 1979). Richard Rastall, "Benjamin Rogers (1614-98): Some notes on his Instrumental Music," *Music and Letters* 46 (July 1965): 237-42, presents a curtailed outline of two of Wood's lists of players in an attempt to relate them to the contents of some Music School manuscripts now held in the Bodleian Library.

⁵ Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself: Collected from His Diaries and Other Papers*, Oxford Historical Society Publications, vols. 19 [Wood I] 21 [Wood II], 26 [Wood III], 30 [Wood IV], ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press, 1891-1900). The excerpts that will be presented in this article have been gleaned from Clark's edition and compared with Wood's original writing, where possible. Hereafter, citations will be given thus: [I, 182].

⁶ Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood: Abridged from Andrew Clark's Edition, and with an Introduction*, ed. Llewelyn Powys (1932; reprint ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1961). Where a passage from the Powys edition is included here, it will be cited thus: (67).

⁷ Wood, *Life and Times* (Powys ed.), p. 19.

⁸ For Wood, the dating of a new year began on March 25. In the cited passages to follow, any reference to a date from January to March will be given thus: 1659/60.

person; later revised to the less personal and sometimes more confusing third person. The second source is the "Secretum Antonii" [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 102, part 1]. It is on 135 pages, contains more details for the earlier years and continues to July, 1672; written entirely in the third person. The third source of information is comprised of his daily jottings in a series of almanacs, interleaved with slips of paper pasted to the almanac pages, beginning in 1656/7 and continuing — with one break from July to November, 1669 (when the first symptoms of his deafness arose) — to the year of his death in 1695. This example from July, 1658, illustrates the meticulous care with which he registered the date and day, his expenses, the people he saw, and the places he went:

1658 [I, 255-6]

July.—The 3.S., for sockes, 6d; the same, spent at Harper's with Mr. [John] Curteine, 8d.—The 5, M., spent at the Swan on my coz. Bolton, 1s 3d.—6, T., spent att Mr. Bodicott's with Mr. Thuxan[?] Mr. [Nicholas] Shirwill, Mr. [Zephaniah] Cressett, 6d; the same, for wine for Mr. [Zephaniah] Cressett and Mr. Cowdrey, 6d; the same, at Mr. Elleses, 6d; the same, paid to Mr. Fforest, 2s 2d.—7, W., spent, 6d.—8, Th., spent, 6d, 6d.—9, F., for a hatt, 1 li. 4s.—10, S., for gloves, 1s 2d; att Elleses, 6d.—12, M., for seing the Turke dance 6d; the same, spent with Mr. [John] Warnford, 1s.—13, T., spent with Mr. [John] Warnford, 1s; att Elleses, 6d.—14, W., spent to see the Turk, 6d; the same, att Elleses, 6d; the same, spent with Mr. [John] Gamble and Mr. [Thomas] Pratt at Tavern, 4s; the same, att Elleses for a lodging, 1s.—15, Th., at Elleses, 6d.—16, F., for binding of a booke, 6d; the same, spent, 10d.—17, S., given to see the play att the Cross Inn, 6d.—The 20, T., att Elleses, 6d; the same, spent at the Crowne Taverne with Mr. [Zephaniah] Cressett and Mr. [John] Boat, 1s.—24, S., spent att Mr. Elleses on M. [Thomas] Baltzier, Mr. [Edward] Low, etc, 1s; spent, 4d.—27, T., att Elleses, 6d.—28, W., for a paire of Spanish shoes, 4s 6d.—29, Th., spent, 6d.

When he was nineteen years old, and in his last year as an undergraduate in Merton College, Wood first noted his love of music:

Dec. 1651 [I, 173 (62)]

This yeare A.W. began to exercise his natural insatiable genie he had to musick. He exercised his hand on the violin; and, having a good eare to take any tune at first hearing, he could quickly draw it out from the violin, but not with the same tunings of strings that others used. He wanted understanding friends and money to pick him out a good master, otherwise he might have equal'd in

that instrument and in singing any person then in the Universitie. He had some companions that were musical, but they wanted instruction as well as he.

[I, 173]

This yeare I began to exercise a natural and unsatiable genie I had to musick. I played by road [rote] without any teacher on the violin; and having an eare I could play any tune, but — you must conceive — not well.

Will. Boreman, Gent[leman] com[moner] of Pembr[oke]
coll. (of the Isle of Wight) my companion good at the
virginall

Will. Bull of Trin[ity College] Gent[leman] com[moner]⁹

In July, 1652, he received his degree; and when in August he fell sick

he was advised to retire into the country to take better ayre than in Oxon, follow the plow, and use what exercise he could there to shake the ague off.

At Cassington, while working on a farm, he tells further of his manner of tuning the violin:

[I, 178 (65)]

While he continued in the country, he followed the plow on his well-dayes and sometimes plowed. He learnt there to ring on the six bells then newly put up; and having had from his most tender yeares an extraordinary ravishing delight in musick, he practiced privately there, without the help of an instructor, to play on the violin. It was then that he set and tuned his strings in fourths, and not in fifths according to the manner: and having a good eare and being ready to sing any tune upon hearing it once or twice, he would play them all in short time with the said way of tuning, which was never known before.

Such a tuning may not have been common with the violin, but Wood may have adapted the instrument to a tuning in fourths because of his familiarity with the viola da gamba, as we may conclude later. After a year of recuperation, he began his studies for a master's degree as well as violin lessons with an altered tuning:

⁹ Added by Clark from the Harley MS 5409; he concludes that the two names are of the musical companions referred to in the Tanner MS 102.

[I, 181 (66)]

An. Dom. 1653: 5 Car. II o/1 Oliv. protect.: [Wood aet. 21]¹⁰ September.—After he had spent the summer at Cassington in a lonish and retir'd condition, he return'd to Oxon; and being advised by some persons,¹¹ he entertain'd a master of musick to teach him the usual way of playing on the violin, that is, by having every string tuned 5 notes lower than the other going before. The master was Charles Griffith, one of the musitians belonging to the city of Oxon, whom he thought then to be a most excellent artist, but when A.W. improv'd himself in that instrument, he found him not so. Th., Sept. 8; He gave him 2s 6d entrance, and 10s quarterly. This person after he had extremely wondred how he could play so many tunes as he did by fourths, without a director or guide, he then tuned his violin by fifths, and gave him instructions how to proceed, leaving then a lesson with him to practice against his next coming.

Wood's burgeoning interests are reflected in his enthusiasm and veneration for his studies:

[I, 182 (66)]

The last yeare, after he was entred into the publik library (which he took to be the happiness of his life, and into which he never entred without great veneration) he could do but little in it, because he was entred but a little while before his ague took him. But this yeare being a constant student therein he became acquainted with the places in the Arts library (for no farther could bachelours of Arts then goe)¹² where the books of English historie and antiquities stand. . . . Heraldry, musick and painting did so much crowd upon him that he could not avoid them; and could never give a reason why he should delight in those studies more than in others, so prevalent was nature, mix'd with a generosity of mind and a hatred to all that was servile, sneaking, or advantageous for lucre sake.

A year later, Wood completed his studies:

1654 [I, 186]

Aug, 10, Th., I was examined for the degree of Master, in the Natural Philosophy School, by William Bull of Trinity Coll.

¹⁰ In his two drafts for his autobiography, Wood begins each year with a tabulation of the years in the reign of King Charles II dating from the beheading of Charles I, as well as the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

¹¹ Clark notes Wood's added remark in the Harley MS: "whom I cannot now remember."

¹² Wood is referring to the Arts End in the Bodleian Library, added to the end of Duke Humfrey's Room in 1612. See Illustration VI.

At the latter end of 1654, Wood, Bull, and other musical friends took off on some student high-jinks, and in his unreserved account, Wood records an instrumental combination that is of some interest in the study of seventeenth-century music:

[I, 189 (68)]

A.W. having by this time obtain'd proficiency in musick, he and his companions were not without silly frolicks, not now to be maintained.

Having by this time got some musical acquaintance, a frolick by all meanes must be taken by us; and what should it be, but to disguise our selves in poor habits, and like contry fiddlers scrape for our livings? Farringdon fair this yeare was the place designed to go to: and all of us (five in number) lodging in a house in the middle reu of Magd[alen] parish, belonging to one Gregory a chandler, we sate out very early the next morning, and calling first on Mr. Th[omas] Latton's house at Kingston Bakepuze, wee bid him good morrow by 2 or 3 tunes. He came in the hall among us, listned to our musick, gave us money, and ordered drink to [be] carried to us. After wee had done with him, wee retired to the in standing on the road going to Farringdon, dined there, and after dinner wee were entertain'd by some of the neighbors, who danced (as I remember) in the green, gave us some money and victualls, and I think wee returned very late that evening to Oxon. The names of those in this exploit were, myself and William Bull before mentiond, who played on the violins; Edmund Gregorie, B.A. and gent. com. of Mert[on] Coll., who playd on the bass viol; John Trap of Trinity, on the citerne; and Georg Mason of the said Coll. on another wyer instrument,¹³ but could do nothing . . . Most of my companions would afterwards glory in this, but I was ashamd, and could never endure to hear of it.

During May, 1655, Wood gave his public lectures in the Natural Philosophy school for his master's degree. On December 17, he ws admitted Master of Arts, on his birthday.

Soon after this point in his life, Anthony Wood began to keep a record of his activities in his almanacs. Andrew Clark clarifies the beginning date of this information: "The Almanacs, having Wood's journal-notes written on their interleaves, begin with the Almanac for 1657; and although at first meagre, soon come

¹³ Probably the Bandora or Orpharion; see Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London: Batsford, 1966): 41 and plates 239-44.

to form the chief source for Wood's life. In the first of the set (that for 1657), several memoranda for the preceding year (1656) are found."¹⁴

From the following passage in his autobiographical drafts, Wood indicates that he had studied violin, in the intervening time since Charles Griffith, with another professional musician who earned some income by playing for official university events. Further, Wood discusses the lowly regard with which the violin was held by Oxford scholars, clearly explains their preference for a consort of viols, and finally records the change in musical taste that came with the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660:

[I, 212]

Anno 1656 [i.e. 6/7]monseur William Jeams taught me to play on the violin, beginning in January and soe on till 7 months' end. Janu[ary]; whereas A.W. had before learned to play on the violin by the instruction of Charles Griffith, and afterwards of John Parker one of the universitie musitians, he was now advis'd to entertaine one William James a dancing master, by some accounted excellent for that instrument, and the rather, because it was said that he had obtained his knowledge of dancing and musick in France. He spent in all half a yeare with him, and gained some improvement from him; yet at length he found him not a compleat master of his facultie, as Griffith and Parker were not: and to say the truth, there was yet no compleat master in Oxon for that instrument, because it had not been hitherto used in consort among gentlemen, only by common musitians, who played but two parts.¹⁵ The gentlemen in privat meetings which A.W. frequented, play'd three, four and five parts all with viols, as treble-viol, tenor, counter-tenor and bass, with either an organ or virginal or harpsicon joyn'd with them: and they esteemed a violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fidler, and could not indure that it should come among them for feare of making their meetings seem to be vaine and fiddling. But before the restoration of K. Charles 2 and especially after, viols began to be out of

¹⁴ Wood, *Life and Times* (Clark ed.), I, p. 200.

¹⁵ Wood may be referring here to an instrumental combination of two violins with bass and chordal instruments (such as that described on his "frolick" above), whereas the viol consorts were usually polyphonic for all parts. Concerning Wood's mention in the next sentence of a "counter-tenor" viol, rarely encountered in any records of the period, see Robert Donington, "James Talbot's Manuscript: Bowed Strings," *Chelys* 6 (1975-6): 58.

fashion, and only violins used, as treble-violin, tenor and bass-violin; and the king according to the French mode would have 24 violins playing before him, while he was at meales, as being more airie and brisk than viols.

Wood attended the meetings where no violins were tolerated. If he played in the consort, he must have played the viola da gamba. Here we have recourse to his almanac-journal notes, which coincidentally throw light upon his earlier accounts of tuning the violin in fourths.

[I, 210 (74)]

The 25 December, Th., 1656, I paid yong Mr. Bishop 3s for mending my base violl.

1657/8 [I, 237]

February. — 18, Th., to Bishop for mending my viall, 1s; — 25, Th., for violl-strings, 7d.

[I, 238]

March. — The 2d, T., for stringes, 4d.

Evidently, Wood was keeping his instruments in good condition for playing in the music meetings. Usually he was careful to distinguish whether it was the viol or the violin that needed attention, but not always:

1657 [I, 231]

December. — 17, Th., for stringes, 7d.¹⁶

1658/9 [I, 266]

January. — 15, S., to Bishop for mending my violin, 1s.

The music meetings which Wood attended and described in considerable detail were unique to Oxford, and arose because of political, religious, and cultural circumstances during the middle years of the seventeenth century. Being an academic, a royalist, and a High-Church Anglican, he recorded the tumultuous events occurring around him with a highly individual point of view. As official chronicler of the university,¹⁷ he wrote of the Civil War

¹⁶ Clark adds here an annotation, "for his violin;" however, the price of 7d for these strings is the same as that for his viol noted on February 25.

¹⁷ Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, by Anthony Wood. Now First Published in English, from Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, with a Continuation to the Present Time, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, Printed for the Editor, 1786). This is a publication of Wood's manuscript entitled "Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis," completed in 1674. Citations below are taken from this edition.

and its aftermath, frequently under the influence of his respect and veneration for the institution.

1642 [I, 68]

Oct. 29, S., the king with his army of foot, prince Rupert and prince Maurice (his two nephews), prince Charles and James duke of York (his two sons) entred into Oxon.

[I, 69 (36)]

November. — This yeare, Oxford was garrisoned for the king. The scholars put out of their colleges: and those that remained bore armes for the king in the garrison.

[I, 69]

About the same time his majestie caused his magazine to be put into New college cloister and tower etc. Whereupon the master of the school there, with his scholars (among whome A. Wood was one) were removed to the choristers' chamber at the east end of the common hall of the said Coll. It was then a dark nasty room and very unfit for such a purpose, which made the scholars often complaine, but in vaine.

November 29, 1642 — The King came from Reading to Oxford; lodged in Christ Church [college] and there, so long as they continued in Oxford, kept their courts.¹⁸

1643 [I, 83]

Mundaye, 23 January. . . . as the magazin for armes & gunpowder was in Newe Colledge, and the magazin for vittells in the Gild hall, and for corne in the Schooles, so the magazin for cloth for soldiers' apparrell and coates was in the Musicke Schoole, and in the Astronomy Schoole adjoyninge to it. . . . The Drawe bridges were all made & framed in the Rhetoricke Schoole.

An. Dom. 1645. 21 Car. I. The Acts of the University are very few or none this year, neither doth any thing material occur in our Books. . . . No Act solemnized this, three years before, or divers after. No exercises performed in the Schools, they being employed as Magazines for several commodities, or else used by the lords and Commons assembled in Parliament by the King's command. . . . Few there were that went in Academical Habits or Formalities, for all under the age of 60 were upon military duty, and therefore continually wore swords.

In 1646, after Oxford was laid siege by the Parliamentary forces, the thirteen-year-old Wood returned from Thame, where

¹⁸ Wood, *History and Antiquities* (Gutch ed.), II, p. 456.

he had been sent for safety from the fighting and from the threat of plague. Characteristically, his curiosity and interest in music were piqued:

[I, 128 (48)]

June 24, Wednesday and Midsomer day, the garrison of Oxon, which was the chiefest hold the king had, and wherein he had mostly resided while the civil warr continued, was surrendred for the use of the parliament, as most of his garrisons were this yeare, occasion'd by the fatal battle of Naisby which hapned in the last yeare, wherein the king and his partie were in a woeful manner worsted.

[I, 128]

'Divers papers relating to the seige of Oxon, 1646,' from some of which I understand that cardinall Mazarin, the great favorite in the French court, had fortie thousand pounds in readiness in the hands of certaine persons to buy up the MSS in the Public and College libraries, to be conveyed into France.

[I, 129 (50)]

After his returne to the house of his nativity, he found Oxford empty as to scholars, but pretty well replenish'd with parliamentarian soldiers. Many of the inhabitants had gained great store of wealth from the Court and royalists that had for several yeares continued among them; but as for the yong men of the city and university he found many of them to have been debauch'd by bearing armes and doing the duties belonging to soldiers, as watching, warding, and sitting in tipling-houses for whole nights together. I have had the opportunity (I cannot say happiness) to peruse several songs, ballads, and such like frivolous stuff, that were made by some of the ingenious sort of them, while they kept guard, . . . which, though their humour and chiefest of their actions are in them described, yet I shall pass them by, as very unworthy to be here, or any part, mentioned.¹⁹

Because of the association with the royalists, Oxford town and university were treated to a kind of purge by the parliamentarians. Fortunately for posterity, the libraries were not harmed, but the scholars, students, and anyone else in service to the university and colleges were closely questioned by a delegation of Parliamentary Visitors, the college chapels disbanded and the organs

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 488.

closed or dismantled.²⁰ Wood was subject to this investigation:

[I, 141 (53)]

An. Dom. 1648: 24 Car. I: The Visitors appointed by Parliament having sate several times in the lodgings of Sir Nathaniel Brent, warden of Merton coll., in the last yeare, but to little purpose, they proceeded this yeare with very great rigour, to the ruin of the Universitie. The members of every college were all summoned to appeare on a certaine day, and sometimes two or 3 colleges or more appeared in one day, and if they did not give in a positive answer whether they would submit to them and their visitation as appointed by parliament, they were forthwith ejected.

[I, 144 (54)]

Friday (May 12) the members of Merton College appear'd, and A.W. was called in (for the members were called in one by one) he was ask'd this question by one of the Visitors: 'Will you submit to the authority of parliament in this visitation?' to which he gave this answer, and wrot it downe on a paper lying on the table, as he was directed: 'I do not understand the business, and therefore I am not able to give a direct answer.'

Wood's observations about the bickering factions in the university during the Commonwealth illustrate the discussions caused by the Visitors, who ejected many scholars and students who would not take the Solemn League and Covenant and the Negative Oath, those who taught "obnoxious dictrines," and those who had borne arms against the Parliament. Ejected Fellows of colleges were replaced by "intruded Fellows," some from Cambridge, who were acceptable to the Visitors.

1648 [I, 147]

November. — They were severely examin'd, and in due course elected and admitted . . . yet all that were then admitted submitted to the Visitors. Some admissions [of fellows] that followed

²⁰ Montagu Burrows, *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658, with some Account of the State of the University during the Commonwealth*, Camden Society Publications, New Series, vol. 29 ([Westminster]: Printed for Camden Society, 1881). This study is still a valuable aid in tracing the activities of Oxford musicians during that period.

were done by the sole authority of the Committee and Visitors.²¹

Among his papers, Wood characterised the factions and, co-incidentally, explained the role of music in the university:

[I, 147 (54)]

Parties in the University 1648-1660.

The generality therfore of the University were divided into two parties, Presbyterians and Independents; and each had their leading members to direct, instruct, perswade, etc. . . . Which two parties did in some respects make a faction in the University; and when occasion served they would both joyne against the Royallists, whom they stiled 'the common enemy.' The former of these [i.e., the Presbyterians] with their disciples seemed to be very severe in their course of life, manners or conversation, and habit or apparell; . . . The other [the Independents] more free, gay, and (with a reserve) frolicsome; of a gay habit, whether preachers or not. But both, void of publick and generous sprits.

The former, for the most part, preached nothing but damnation: the other not, but rather for libertie. Yet both joyne together to pluck downe and silence the prelaticall preachers, or at least expose their way to scorne.

[I, 296 (92)]

[As to] manners; factions, saucy, and some impudent and conceited . . . Scorning at anything that seemed formall; laughing at a man in a cassock or canonical coat or long cloak to the heels, at those praying with hats before their eyes when they come into the church or kneeling down against a pillar or form.

[I, 298 (93)]

[They used to] love and encourage instrumental musick; but did not care for vocall, because that was used in church by the prelaticall partie. They would not goe to alehouses or taverns, but send for their liquors to their respective chambers and tiple it there . . . They would also entertaine each other in their chambers with edibles, and sometimes (but seldome) at a cook's house that had a back-way, and be very merry and frolicsome. Nay, such that had come from Cambridg and had gotten fellowships would be more free of entertainment than any . . .

They encouraged instrumental musick, and some there were that

²¹ Wood, *Life and Times* (Clark ed.) [I, 147, n. 1]. Clark explains: "The distinction drawn seems to be this: in the earlier admissions of fellows the College retained the semblance of autonomy, making its own election (though its choice was limited to those who had submitted to the Visitors); but in the later admissions, the College had passively to accept the nominees of the Committee in London on the Visitors in Oxford."

had musick meetings every week in their chambers; but vocall musick²² the heads of these partie[s] did not care for, and the juniors were afraid to entertaine it because [it was] used by the prelaticall party in their devotions.

An anecdote told by Wood about Oliver Cromwell, who had been elected Chancellor of the university on January 1, 1650/1, further confirms the musical preferences during the Commonwealth:

1659 [I, 287 (89)]

Oct. In this month died James Quinn, M.A., Student of Ch[rist] Ch[urch], in a crazed condition . . . A.W. had some acquaintance with him, and hath several times heard him sing with great admiration. His voice was a bass, and he had a great command of it. Twas very strong and exceeding trouling, but he wanted skill and could scarce sing in consort. He had been turn'd out of his student's place by the Visitors; but being well acquainted with some great men of those times that loved musick, they introduced him into the company of Oliver Cromwell the protector, who loved a good voice and instrumentall musick well . . . Sung before the Protector, liquored by him with sack, restored to his Student's place at his desire.

Events changed again with the death of Cromwell, the brief interlude with his son as Lord Protector, and the final restoration of the monarchy. Wood's account of their effect on the Oxford community reveal his sharp eye:

1658 [I, 259 (81)]

Sept. 3, F., Oliver Cromwell the protector died. This I set downe, because some writers tell us that he was hurried away by the Devill in the wind . . . Sept. 6, M., Richard Cromwell his son was proclaimed Protector at Oxon at the usual places where kings have been proclaimed. While he was proclaiming before S. Marie's church dore, the mayor, recorder, townclerk, &c. accompanied by col. Unton Croke and his troopers, were pelted with carret and turnip-tops by yong scholars and others who stood at a distance. 1659/60 [I, 303, (95)]

Feb. 13, Munday, at night, was great rejoycing in Oxon for the news that then was brought, that there should suddenly be a free-parliament. The bells rang, and bonfiers were made, and some rumps or tayles of sheep were flung into a bonfier at Qu[een's] coll[ege] gate. Dr. John Palmer, a great rumper, warden of Allsouls Coll . . . had a rump throwne up from the street at his windowes.

²² Clark [I, 298, n. 7]: "part-singing, I suppose."



Illustration I: "Nova & Accuratissima Celeberrimae Universitatis Civitatisque Oxoniensis Scenographia. Dav. Loggan Delin. et. Sculp. cum Privilegio. S.R.M. 1675" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood B 276 B, no. xxxi), detail.

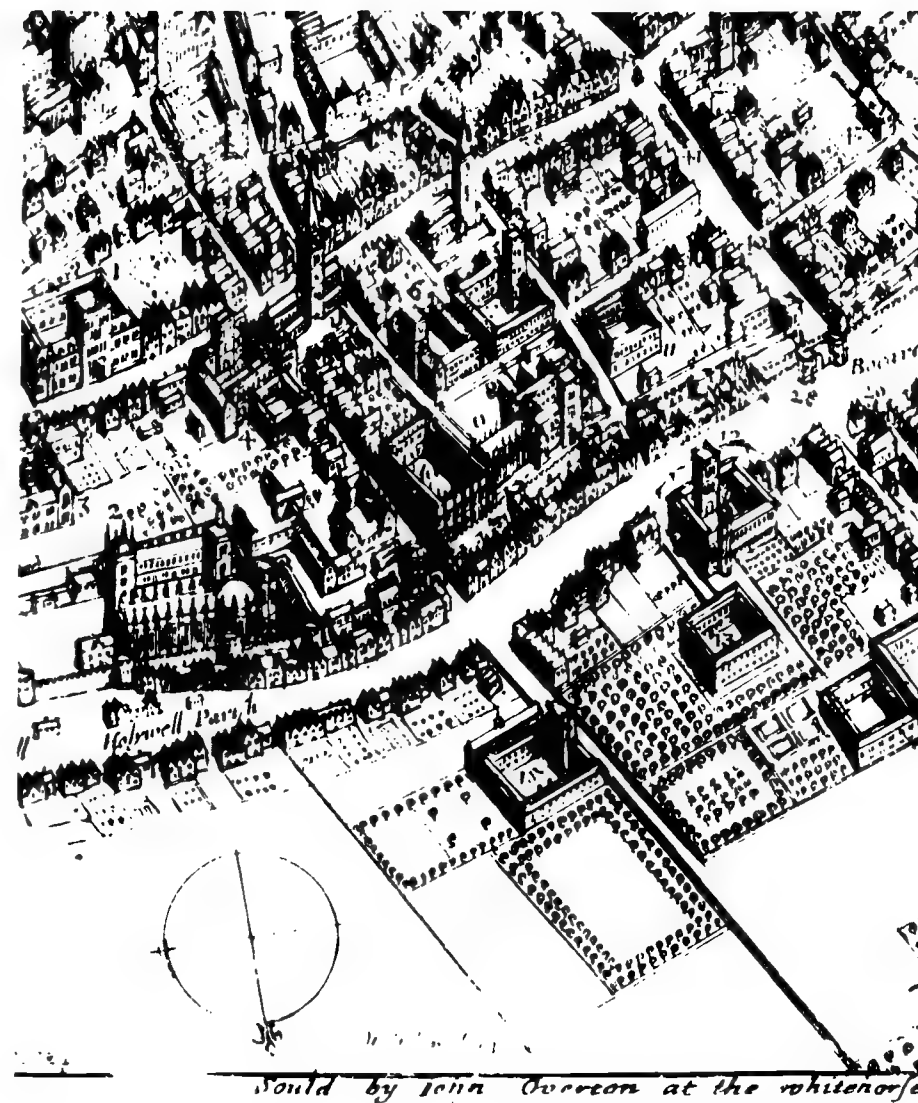


Illustration II: "Oxforde. W. Hollar sculp:" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 423, fol. 10, detail).

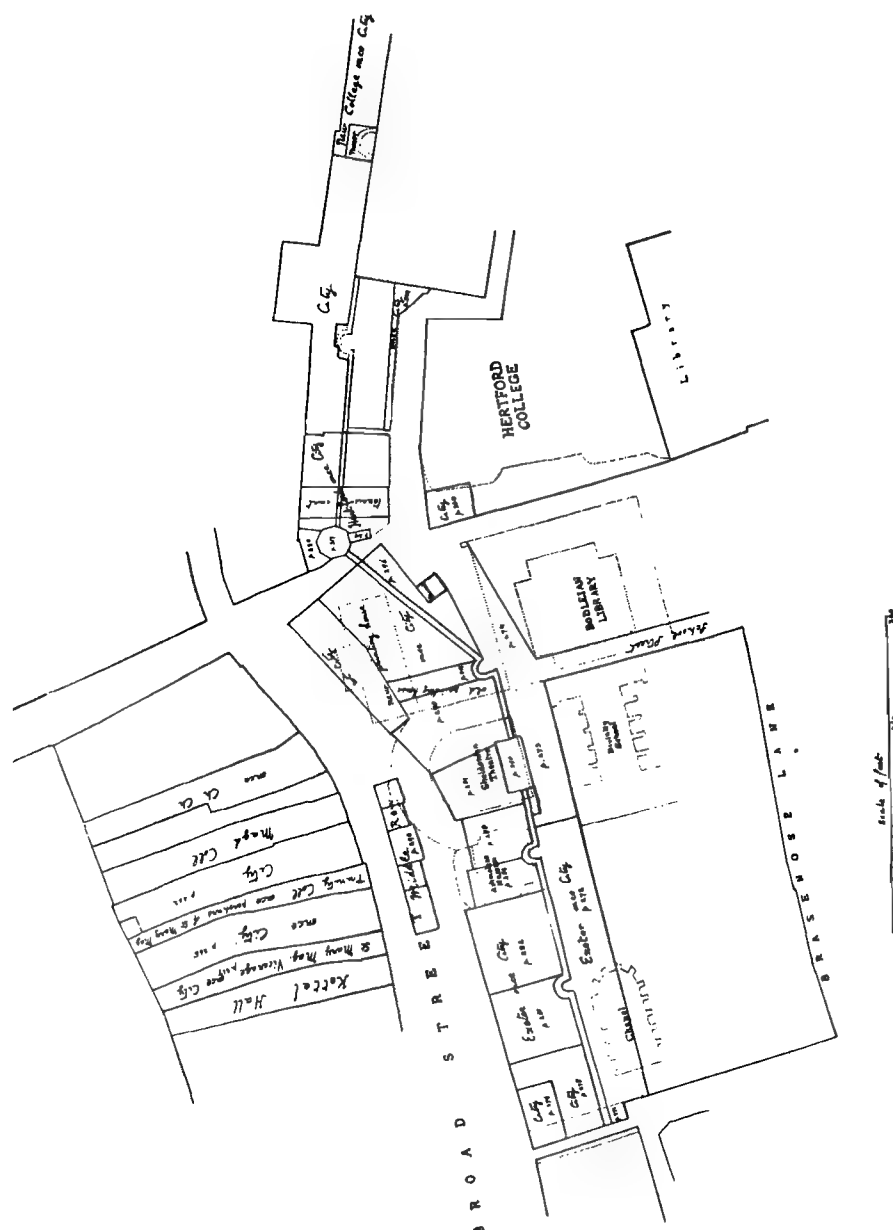


Illustration III: North East Oxford. From H. E. Salter, *Oxford City Properties*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. LXXXIII (1926), facing p.270.



Illustration IV: Photograph of Broad Street, Oxford, by Harold Minn, 1936 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, G. A. Oxon a.64, p.30), from the cupola of the Sheldonian Theatre.



Illustration V: Photograph of Broad Street, Oxford, by Bruce Bellingham, 1981, from the same location.

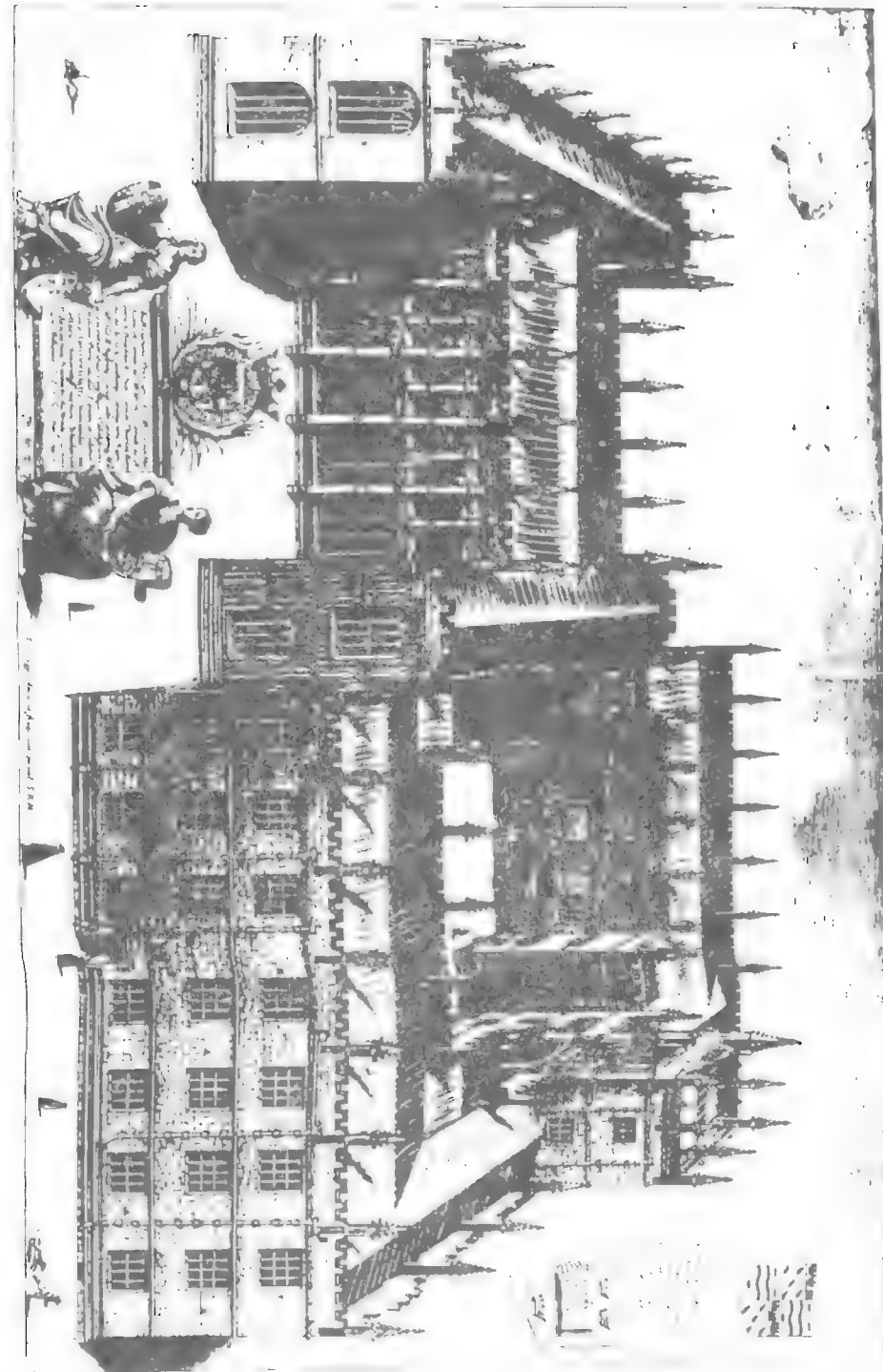
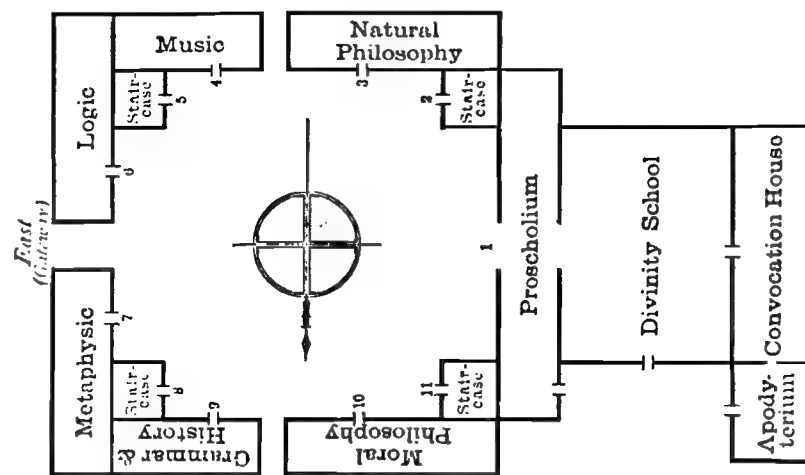


Illustration VI: "Bibliotheca Publica Bodleiana & Scholae sive Auditoria Artium Liberalium. D. Loggan delin. et sculp. privil. S.R.M.". *Oxonia illustrata* (1675).

Illustration VII: Floor plans of the Schools Quadrangle, November, 1665. From Clark, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, vol. II (Oxford Historical Society, vol. XXI), pp. 63-4.

I. Ground-floor plan.



II. First-floor plan.

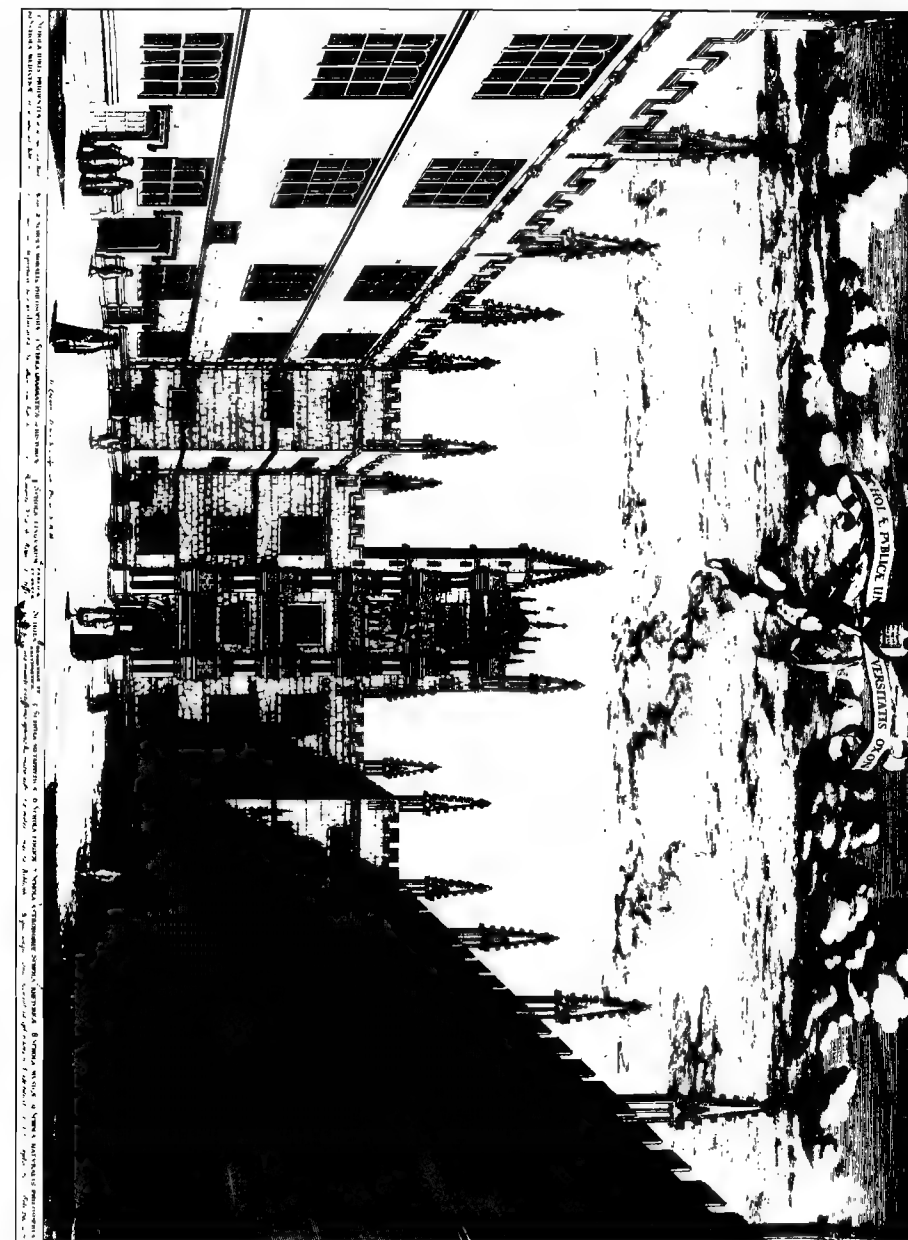
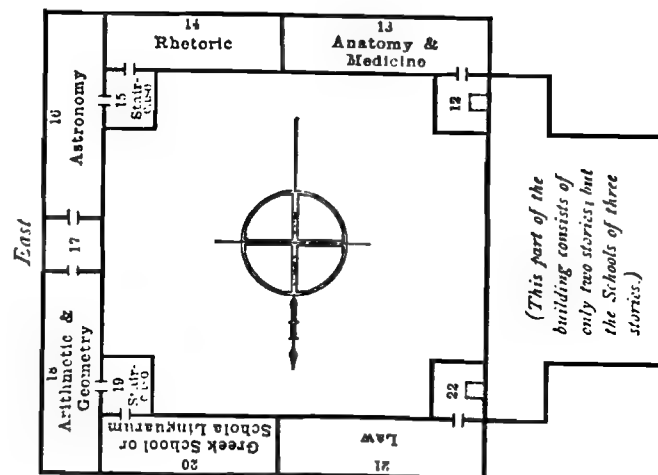


Illustration VIII: "Scholae Publicae Universitatis Oxon. D. Loggan Delin. & Sculp: cum Privilegio S.R.M.". *Oxonia illustrata* (1975).

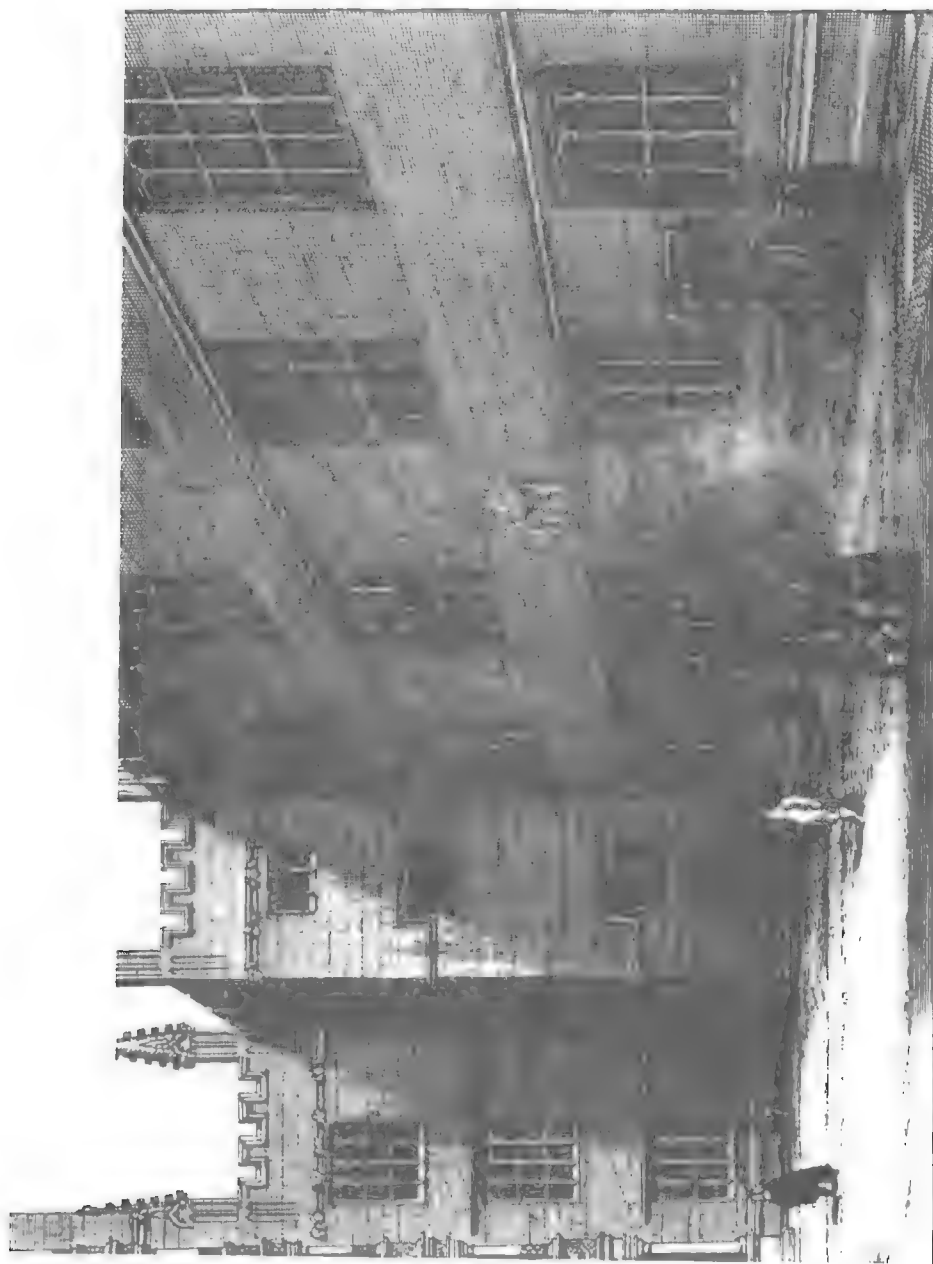


Illustration IX: Detail, showing the location of the Music School (in caption: "8 Schola Musicae").

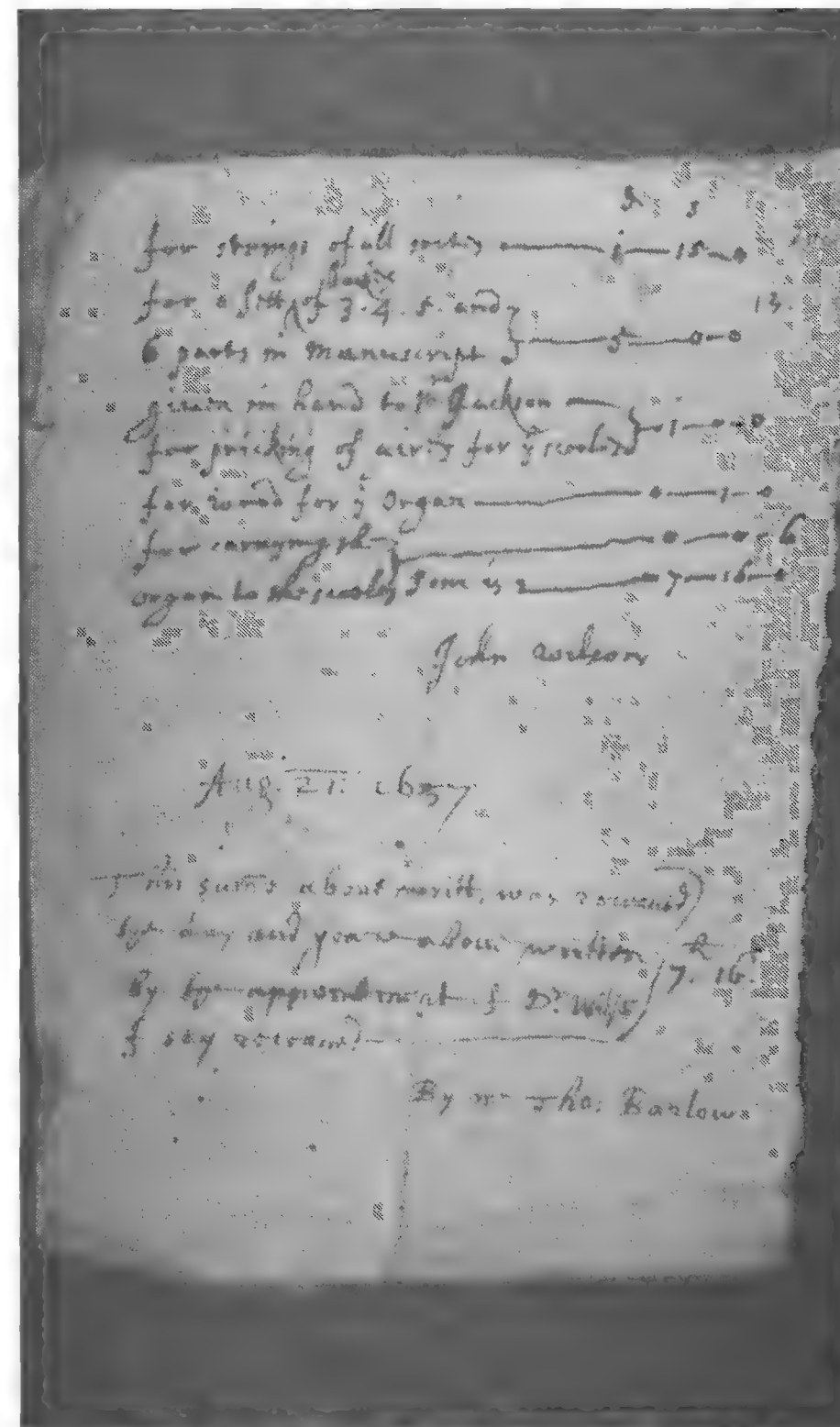


Illustration X: Oxford, University Archives, N.W.3.4., p. 204.

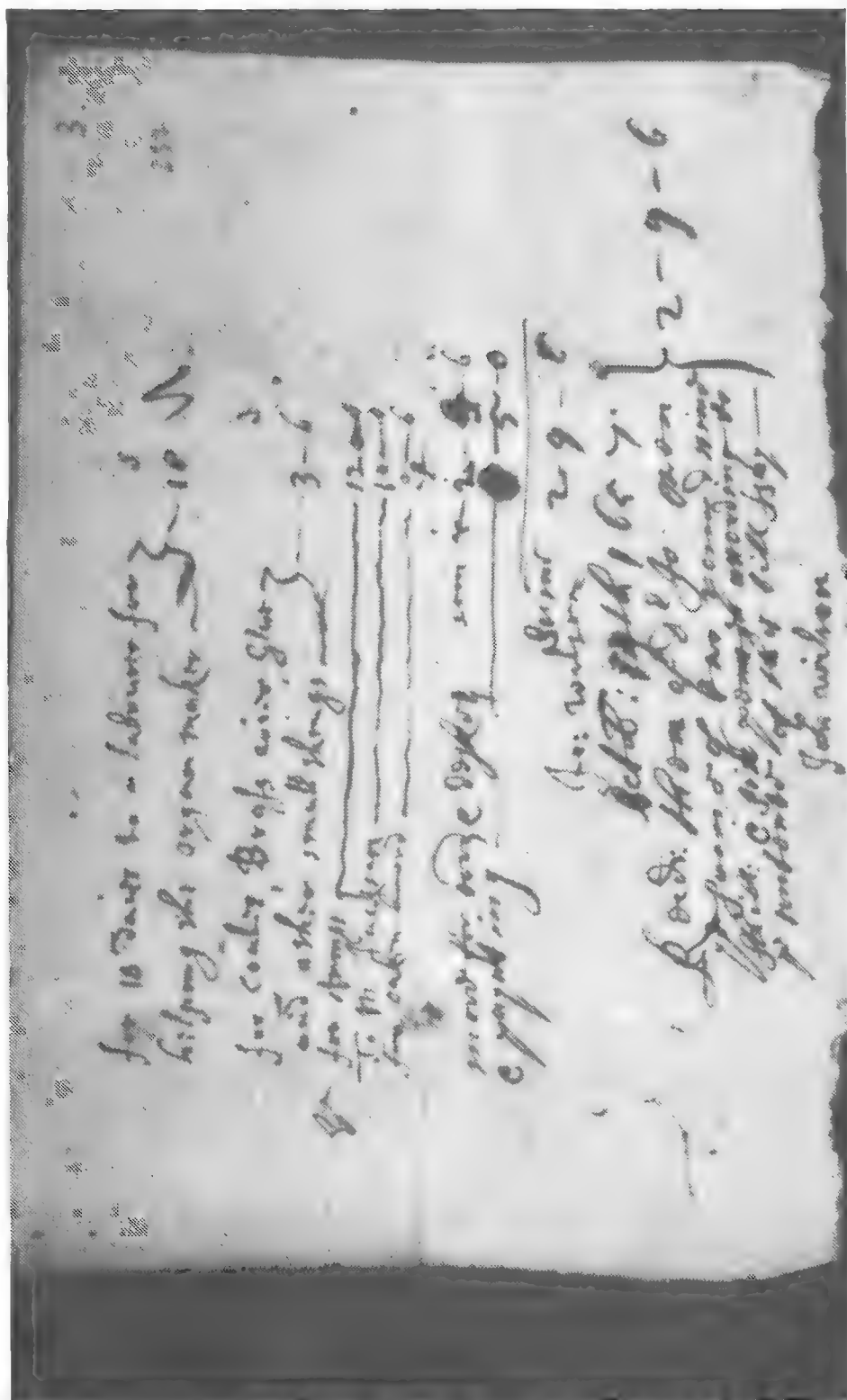


Illustration XI: Oxford, University Archives, N.W.3.4., p. 232.

He had been one of the rump parliament, and a great favourite of Oliver.

[I, 317 (96)]

May 29, T., the day of restoration of K. Ch. 2 observed in all or most places in England, particularly at Oxon which did exceed any place of its bigness. Many from all parts flocked to London to see his entrie; but A.W. was not there, but at Oxon, where the jollity of the day continued till next morning. The world of England was perfectly mad. They were freed from the chaises of darkness and confusion which the presbyterians and phanaticks had brought upon them; yet some of them seeing then what mischief they had done, tack'd about to participate of the universal joy, and at length clos'd with the royal partie.

[I, 357 (103)]

State of the University after the Restoration.

It now remaines that I should say something (1) of what was done by the persons restored to make themselves and their doctrine acceptable to the people, and how by some dispised, and of their learning; (2) of what was done by some of the old scholars that had weathered out the times from 1648 to this year and of some juniors that had been disciplin'd in the Presbyterian and Independent wayes. The first matter, therefore, that the restored persons looked after was to put themselves in the most prelatieall garbe that could be, and the rather, that they might encourage others, especially those of the intervall, to doe the like; to restore all signes of monarchy in the Universitie, the Common Prayer, surplice and certaine customes, . . . to reduce the Universitie to the old way of preaching and praying . . .

And that they might draw the vulgar from the aforesaid praying and preaching which was still exercised in som churches and houses, they restored the organ at Christ Church, Magdalen, New, and St. John's College[s], together with the singing of prayers after the most antient way: to which places the resort of people (more out of novelty, I suppose, than devotion) was infinitely great. But the Presbyterians, whose number was considerable, seeing their disciples dayly fall off, endeavored to make these matters ridiculous either in their common discourses, libells, or some idle pamphlets that they caused to be dispersed. They compared the organ to the whining of pigs; their singing, to that of a joviall crew in a blind ale-house . . .

Nay, some varlets of Christ Church were so impudent (whether set on by the Presbyterians or no, I know not) to goe on the 21 January this yeare [1660/1] about 11 or 12 of the clock at night to a chamber under the common hall (where the choiresters learne

their grammar) and thence to take away all such surplices that they could find: and being so done, to throw them in a common privy houes belonging to Peckwater Quadrangle, and there with long sticks to thrust them downe into the excrements. The next day being discovered, they were taken up and washed; but so enraged were the deane and canons, that they publickly protested, if they knew the person or persons that had committed that act, they should not onlie loose their places and be expelled the Universitie but also have their eares cut off in the market place. The Presbyterians were wonderfully pleased at this action, laughed hartily among themselves, and some in my hearing have protested that if they knew the person that did this heroick act they would convey to him an encouraging gratuity. Soone after came out a ballad or lampoone, made as 'twas reported by one Thomas Smith bachelor of Arts of Christ Church, intituled 'Lowe's Lamentation,' or the lamentation of Edward Lowe organist of Christ Church—the beginning of which was this:

"Have pittie on us all, good Lairds,
For surely wee are all uncleane;
Our surplices are daub'd with tirds,
And eke we have a shitten Deane."

The preceding accounts have been cited in order to provide a necessary understanding of the social circumstances that engendered the music meetings which Wood attended and described in detail. In the following passages, whatever comments by Wood that seem extraneous to this present study (such as family lineage and escutcheons, and later careers of the participants) have been deleted. It is clear from his remarks that their love of music superseded any political, religious, or philosophical differences among the participants, since the first four men had been intruded into the university by the Parliamentary Visitors,²³ one was a Roman Catholic, and many others (especially those whom Wood calls the "musick masters") had been ejected from colleges or chapels during the same purge. Note that Wood makes a clear distinction between the students and fellows of the colleges, the musicians who earned their livelihoods from the university colleges and chapels, and "common" musicians.

[I, 204 (72)]

By this time²⁴ A.W. had genuine skill in musick, and frequented

²³ See Burrows, *The Register*, pp. 169, 55, 92, 195, 170.

²⁴ Clark [I, 204, n. 1] explains: "i.e., at the beginning of 1656 (counting the year as beginning on 25 March)."

the weekly meetings of musitians in the house of William Ellis, late organist²⁵ of S. John's Coll., situat and being in a house opposite to that place whereon the Theater was built. The usual company that met and performed their parts were:

- (1) John Cock, M.A., fellow of New Coll. by the authority of the Visitors . . .
- (2) John Jones, M.A., fellow of the said College by the same authority.
- (3) Georg Croke, M.A., [fellow] of the same Coll., also by the same authority. He was afterwards drowned . . . 1657.
- (4) John Friend, M.A., fellow also of the said house and by the same authority. He died in the country anno 1658.
- (5) Georg Stradling, M.A., fellow of Alls[ouls] Coll., an admirable lutinist, and much respected by [John] Wilson the [music] professor.
- (6) Ralph²⁶ Sheldon, gent., a Roman Catholick . . . at this time living in Halywell neare Oxon, admired for his smooth and admirable way in playing on the viol. He died in the city of Westminster . . . 165- . . .
- (7) Thomas Wren, a younger son of Matthew Wren bishop of Ely, a sojourner now in the house of Francis Bowman bookseller . . .
- (8) Thomas Janes M.A. of Magd[alen] Coll. would be among them, but seldome played. He had a weekly meeting in his chamber at the Coll., practiced much on the Theorbo lute, and Gervace Westcote being often with him as an instructor, A.W. would sometimes go to their meeting and play with them.

The musick masters, who were now in Oxon and frequented the said meeting, were:

- (1) William Ellis, bach. of musick, owner of the house wherein the meeting was. He alwaies play'd his part either on the organ or virginal.
- (2) Dr. John Wilson, the public professor, the best at the lute in all England. He sometimes play'd on the lute, but mostly presided the consort.
- (3) Curteys²⁷ a lutinist lately ejected from some choir or

²⁵ In the Harley MS 5409 draft, Wood wrote "the ejected organist." The same explanation serves for Edward Lowe, below.

²⁶ Clark [I, 204, n. 8]: "'Ralph' is in pencil, as though Wood were not quite sure about it."

²⁷ Another participant whose first name was unknown to, or forgotten by, Wood.

cath[olic] church. After his majestie's restoration he became gent. or singing-man of Ch[rist] Church in Oxon.

- (4) Thomas Jackson, a bass-violist; afterwards one of the choire of S. John's coll. in Oxon.
- (5) Edward Low, organist lately of Ch[rist] Church. He play'd only on the organ; so when he performed his part, Mr. Ellis would take up a counter-tenor viol and play, if any person were wanting to performe that part.
- (6) Gervase Littleton *alias* Westcot, or Westcot *alias* Littleton, a violist. He was afterwards a singing man of S. John's coll.
- (7) William Flexney, who had belonged to a choire before the warr. He was afterwards a gent. or singing-man of Ch[rist] Ch[urch]. He playd well upon the bass viol and sometimes sung his part. He died 6 Nov. 1692 aged 79 or thereabouts.
- (8) . . . ²⁸ Proctor a yong man and a new commer. He died soon after as I shall tell you anon.

—John Parker, one of the Universitie musitians, would be sometimes among them; but Mr. Low, a proud man, could not endure any common musitian to come to the meeting, much less to play among them.

—Among these I must put John Haselwood an apothecary, a starched formal clisterpipe, who usually play'd on the bass-viol and somtimes on the counter-tenor. He was very conceited of his skil (tho he had but little of it) and therefore would be ever and anon ready to take up a viol before his betters: which being observed by all, they usually call'd him *Handlewood*.

As for other musitians who were about this time beginners, you shall have the names of them under the yeare 16[58].

The above account must be amended by these observations in Wood's autobiographical drafts for July, 1656:

[I, 208]

July 22, T., 1656; Mr. [Joseph] Procter departed this life in the parish of Holywell, Oxon, . . . He was a rare musician especiall for the Lyra violl and also for the division violl: bred up under Mr. J[ohn] Jenkins the mirror of this our age. He was very good for the treble violl, and also for the violin. And all these comprehended in a man of three or four-and-twenty yeares of age.

July 22, T., . . . Proctor died in Halywell; . . . He had [been] bred

²⁸ Wood omits the first name again here, as he does in the obituary cited below.

up [in the faculty of musick]²⁹ by Mr. John Jenkyns (the mirrour and wonder of his age for musick); was excellent for the lyra-viol and division-viol, good at the treble-viol and treble-violin; and all comprehended in a man of three or four and twentie yeares of age. He was much admired at the meetings, and exceedingly pittied by all the faculty for his loss.

[I, 209 (73)]

This summer came to Oxon *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, &c. written by William Dugdale, and adorn'd with many cuts. This being accounted the best book of its kind that hitherto was made extant, my pen cannot enough describe how A. Wood's tender affections and insatiable desire of knowledg were ravish'd and melted downe by the reading of that book. What by musick and rare books that he found in the public library, his life, at this time and after, was a perfect Elysium.

In this first detailed account of the music meetings, Wood names most of the participants (including himself, presumably, playing viol and violin), and designates the instruments played and performing abilities of most of them. The first group were almost all students and/or fellows in the colleges. Most of the music masters merited that description because they earned at least part of their livelihoods as musicians, and most of these (except Wilson) had been members of chapel choirs which had been disbanded in 1648 by Parliament. By his description of Joseph Proctor, we may assume that this young man was included among the "masters" because of his training with John Jenkins, and that his level of musicianship was quite high. Wood's use of the term "new commer" may imply that Proctor was not a fellow M.A. in a college, or that the meetings had been held for some time before this account of 1656.

There is an indication that other meetings occurred in college quarters, and that the purpose of some of these was for instruction from one of the music masters; perhaps when Wood sometimes played in Magdalen College with Janes and Westcote, they formed an ensemble of Wood (violin or viol), Westcote (viol), and Janes (theorbo lute). In spite of Wood's qualification, quoted earlier, that these meetings allowed only viols, the above account indicates that at least some of the participants played violin. However, only Parker, we know from that same passage, was solely a violinist,

²⁹ Clark adds this phrase from Wood's draft, Harley MS 5409. "Faculty" in this context means the art of music.

which may explain why he was not tolerated by Edward Lowe. Further, Flexney is said to have "sometimes sung his part," suggesting that although these meetings featured predominantly instrumental music, and although the Presbyterians and Independents were highly critical and suspicious of vocal music, some singing may have been included, perhaps as consort songs (which had been popular in Oxford before the Civil War, and were composed by Richard Nicholson, the first Music Professor at Oxford).³⁰ In order to keep the ensemble together, John Wilson, the music professor, "mostly presided the consort." The possible choices of the participants to form various ensemble combinations may be summarized thus:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Lute/Theorbo | Virginal/Harpsichord/Organ |
| Stradling | Ellis |
| Janes | Lowe |
| Wilson | Violin |
| Curteys | Proctor |
| Singer | Parker |
| Flexney | Wood |
| Viol | Director |
| Sheldon | Wilson |
| Jackson | Unknown |
| Ellis (counter tenor) | Cock |
| Westcote | Jones |
| Flexney (bass) | Croke |
| Proctor (lyra, division, treble) | Friend |
| Haselwood (bass, countertenor) | Wren. |
| Wood (bass) | |

Finally, Wood is fairly explicit in describing the location of William Ellis's house. The theater referred to is the Sheldonian Theatre, designed by Christopher Wren in 1664 on a bequest of Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon for various university functions, and completed in 1669. Its location (number 28), facing with its front to Broad Street and its back to the Bodleian Library (number 27)

³⁰ See Nan Cooke Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance," *Musical Quarterly* 41 (April 1955):205; and Philip Brett, ed., *Consort Songs, Musica Britannica* vol. 22, (London: Stainer and Bell, Published for the Royal Musical Association, 1967), p. xvi.

and the Schools Quadrangle (number 26), can be seen in a detail of a map of Oxford engraved by David Loggan in 1675.³¹ [Illustration I] The appearance of Broad Street prior to the construction of the Theatre can be seen on a map by Wenceslaus Hollar, showing the Library (number 9) and the University Schools (number 10).³² [Illustration II] A composite drawing of this section of North-East Oxford was prepared by H. E. Salter,³³ showing the Divinity School (and the old Duke Humfrey's Room of the Bodleian Library), the Bodleian Library (in Wood's time this was the University Schools Quadrangle), the Sheldonian Theatre, and the row of properties opposite. [Illustration III] From studying the records of leases for these properties, Salter presents this information:

Leases of no. 46 Broad Street . . .

Aug. 21, 23 Car. I [1647]; a lease to Bartholomew Finch,³⁴ cook, of two messuages now in his occupation; Edward Sellwood, cook, is W[est], a tenement of Magd[alen] Coll. in the occupation of John Ellis [lawyer] is E[ast] . . .

June 21, 14 Car. II, 1662; his lease is renewed; on the E. is Christopher Brooks in the tenement of Magd. College; on the

³¹ Wood owned a copy of the engraving (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood B 276 B no. xxxi) and on it wrote: "April-May 1675. Memorandum that this map or platforme of the University and Citie of Oxon was mostly drawne by the hand, with a pencill, of David Loggan, the Universitie engraver, anno 1673; engraven on a copper plate anno 1674: and published with the book of maps of colleges and halls anno 1675. The said David Loggan using my direction in the matter and an old map."

³² A copy of this map was also owned by Wood, and may be what he gave to Loggan for reference (see note 31). About his copy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 423, fol. 1), Wood wrote in the index of the collection containing it: "Map of Oxford made in the time of K. James I." Wood [II, 47] records his meeting with Loggan and later [II, 49] his lending Loggan his maps.

³³ H. E. Salter, *Oxford City Properties*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. 83 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1926), facing p. 270. About the "Middle Row," Salter, p. 291, states that it had a very short existence, was erected after 1660 and demolished in 1667 in order to give a better view of the Sheldonian.

³⁴ Burrows, *The Register*, p. 235, records the Parliamentary Visitors' order on May 30, 1649, "that the Answer of William Finch, Head Cooke of New Colledge, and William Flexney, Barbor, be returned amonge the submissions given . . ." Bartholomew Finch, undercook at New College, was removed July 5, 1649, (p. 195). Edward Sellwood, cook at St. John's College, also did not submit and was expelled (pp. 47, 151). Wood [II, 83] mentions that "Edith Finche (wife of Bartholomew Finch, Cook, of Magdalen parish)" was one of the sponsors at the baptism of Wood's brother's daughter.

W. is William Ellis, formerly Edward Sellwood; 40 years; rent 20s. and two capons.

Mar. 20, 1676/7; a lease to Francis Finch and Abraham Finch; the two messuages are occupied by Richard Hedges, cook; widow Brooks in E. in a tenement of Magd. Coll., William Ellis, organist, is W. . . .

Leases of no. 47 Broad Street . . .

Ap. 30, 1652; a lease to Edward Sellwood, cook; Bartholomew Finch is E., Thomas Wisdom is W. . . .

Sept. 9, 1667; a lease to Edward Sellwood; it is occupied by William Ellis; neighbours as before; . . .³⁵

From these leases, we may observe that Ellis occupied a "messuage" or tenement on the west side of 46 Broad Street (recorded in 1662 and 1677) and one on the east side of 47 Broad Street (recorded in 1667). The buildings appear to have survived until 1937, when they were torn down to provide for the New Bodleian Library. A photograph taken by Oxford photographer Harold Minn in 1936³⁶ shows these buildings, [Illustration IV] and can be compared with another, taken in spring 1981, showing the New Bodleian and Blackwell's Bookstore, numbers 48-49 Broad Street. [Illustration V].

Three years later, in March, 1659, Wood presents an even more detailed account of the meetings and the participants at Ellis's house, and in almost every instance notes what instruments were played. Furthermore, he adds information about meetings in college rooms, and explains the reasons for the eventual demise of this activity:

[I, 273]

All the time³⁷ that A. W. could spare from his beloved studies of

³⁵ Salter, pp. 262-4, where he refers in a footnote to Wood's description of the music meetings in Ellis's house, adding, "At the north end of the garden there is a detached room still known [in 1926] as the Music Room."

³⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, G. A. Oxon a. 64, p. 30.

³⁷ Clark [I, 273, note 5] explains: "This is placed by Wood in March, and so at the end of the year in his notation. The reference therefore covers the year from April 1658." The entire continuous passage is taken from Tanner MS 102, fol. 29v, written in pencil; space is left in the Harley MS 5409 for the names, but they were not listed by Wood.

English history, antiquities, heraldry and genealogies, he spent in the most delightful facultie of musick, either instrumental or vocal: and if he had missed the weekly meetings in the house of William Ellis, he could not well enjoy himself all the week after. All or most of the company, when he frequented that meeting, the names of them are set downe under the yeare 1656. As for those that came in after and were now performers, and with whome A. W. frequently playd, were these:

- (1) Charles Perot, M.A., fellow of Oriel Coll., a well bred gent. and a person of a sweet nature. [Violist]³⁸
- (2) Christopher Harrison, M.A., fellow of Queen's Coll., a maggot-headed person and humourous . . . [Violist]³⁸
- (3) Kenelm Digby, fellow of Alls[ouls] Coll. . . . He was a violinist, and the two former violists.
- (4) William Bull, Mr. of Arts, bach of Physic, and fellow of Alls[ouls] coll.; for the violin and viol. He died 15 Jul. 1661, aged 28 yeares
- (5) John Vincent, M.A., fellow of the said Coll.; a violist . . .
- (6) Sylvanus Taylor, sometimes commoner of Wadh[am] Coll., afterwards fellow of Allsoules; and violist and songster. . . . His elder brother, capt. Silas Taylor, was a composer of musick, playd and sung his parts: and when his occasions brought him to Oxon, he would be at the musical meetings, and play and sing his part there.
- (7) Henry Langley, M.A. and gent. commoner of Wadh[am] Coll.; a violist and songster. . . .
- (8) Samuel Woodford, a commoner and M.A. of the said Coll.; a violist. . . .
- (9) Francis Parry, M.A., fellow of Corp[us] Chr[istie] coll.; a violist and songster. . . .
- (10) Christopher Coward, M.A., fellow of C[orpus] C[hristie] coll.; a violist and division violist. . . .
- (11) Charles Bridgeman, M.A. of Queen coll. . . .
- (12) Nathaniel Crew, M.A., fellow of Linc[oln] Coll.; a violinist and violist, but alwaies played out of tune, as having no good eare. . . .
- (13) Matthew Hutton, M.A., fellow of Brasnose Coll.; an excellent violist. Afterwards rector of Aynoe in Northamptonshire.

³⁸ See number (3) below.

- (14) Thomas Ken of New Coll., a junior. He would be sometimes among them, and sing his part.
- (15) Christopher Jeffryes, a junior student of Ch[rist] Church; excellent at the organ and virginals or harpsichord, having been trained up to those instruments by his father Georg Jeffryes, steward to the Lord Hatton of Kirbie in Northamptonshire and organist to K. Ch. I at Oxon.
- (16) Richard Rhodes, another junior student of Ch[rist] Church, . . . a violinist to hold between his knees.³⁹

These did frequent the weekly meetings; and by the help of publick masters of musick, who were mixed with them, they were much improv'd.

Narcissus Marsh, M.A. and fellow of Exeter Coll., would come sometimes among them, but seldome play'd, because he had a weekly meeting in his chamber in the said Coll. where masters of musick would come, and some of the company before mention'd. When he became principal of S. Alban's-hall, he translated the meeting thither, and there it continued when that meeting in Mr. Ellis's house was given over, and so it continued till he went into Ireland and became Mr. of Trin[ity] Coll. at Dublin. He was afterwards archb[ishop] of Tuam in Ireland.

After his majestie's restoration, when then the masters of musick were restored to their several places that they before had lost, or else if they had lost none, they had gotten then preferment, the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house began to decay, because they were held up only by scholars, who wanted directors and instructors, &c. so that in few yeares after, the meeting in that house being totally layd aside, the chief meeting was at Mr. (then Dr.) Marshe's chamber, at Exeter Coll., and afterwards at S. Alban's hall, as before I have told you.

Besides the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house, which were first on Thursday, then on Tuesday, there were meetings of the scholastical musitians every Friday night, in the winter time, in some colleges; as in the chamber of Henry Langley, or of Samuel Woodford, in Wadham Coll.; in the chamber of Christopher Harrison in Queen's Coll.; in that of Charles Perot in Oriel; in another

³⁹ This unusual description may be interpreted in various ways. Rastall, "Rogers," p. 241, suggests that "probably he played the bass violin, usually tuned a tone lower than the modern cello;" Baines, *Instruments*, p. 14, gives no such tuning, but see Donnington, "Talbot's Manuscript," p. 45f. However, as Wood did not designate Rhodes' instrument as a bass, and he usually was careful to do so, it may be that Rhodes held his violin between his knees because he was more familiar with the playing technique for the viol, just as Wood had first tuned his violin in fourths.

at New Coll. &c. — to all which some masters of musick would commonly retire, as William Flexney, Thomas Jackson, Gervas Westcote, &c.; but these meeting[s] were not continued above 2 or 3 yeares, and I think they did not go beyond the yeare 1662.

The possible choice of participants was now larger, it appears, if some of the 1656 members can be included as continuing at the Ellis meetings. A comparative summary will reveal some changes:

Lute — No players are named. Of the earlier members, Stradling and Curteys may have continued. Janes played seldom even in 1656, when Wood says he had his own college meeting. Westcote, being his instructor, many have played lute as well.

Virginal/Harpsicord/Organ — Only Jeffryes is named, and must have been well trained. Ellis could have continued, as well.

Violin — The violinists are still outnumbered by violists, and as before, only two are named as playing only violin: Digby, and Rhodes, "a violinist to hold between his knees." Three others played both: Crew, Wood (presumably), and Bull, Wood's old friend from their "frolick" who is now reported by Wood to likewise play viol.

Viol — Unfortunately, Wood specifies the size of viol only in one instance (Coward). Nevertheless, the majority of the players who were newer members of the Ellis meetings and M.A. fellows or commoners in the colleges all played viol, and were eleven in total. To these must be added Wood and the "music masters," if by Wood's account they can be included at the Ellis meetings as well as at the meetings of the "scholastical musitians" in the colleges, "to all which some masters of musick would commonly retire:" Flexney (bass viol), Jackson, and Westcote. Further, Ellis himself may have continued to play "counter-tenor viol."

The number of "songsters" mentioned reflects the changing acceptance of vocal music in these meetings, and especially after the Restoration. Wood has written his reports in such a way as to refer not only to the specific year of the meetings described but also to

the subsequent years. His almanac-journals give testimony to a resurgence of secular singing, and one of Wood's haunts was a tavern kept by Gervase Westcote, especially when a group of singers began to meet there:

1657 [I, 215]

April . . . The 22, W., . . . the same day, at Mr. Westcote's, 6d.

1662 [I, 454]

September . . . 24, W., spent at Jeanses with Mr. [John] Curteyne, Mr. [Henry] Denton, and [Ranulph] Peyton, 2d; the first time of catch meting.

30, T., . . . spent at Westcott's with Mr. [Ranulph] Peyton and Mr. [Henry] Denton, being the first time of our katch meting.⁴⁰

[I, 457]

October . . . 7, T., at Westcot's with the singers, 2d.; at Elleses, 6d.⁴¹

13, M., at Westcote's with Mr. Paint[on] and [John] C[urteyne], 2d.

20, M., . . . at Westcoate's at the catch meting, 2d.

27, M., at Westcot's at the catch meeting, 4d.

[I, 461]

November . . . 17, M., at Westcote's, 6d.

24, M., at Westcot's, 4d.

[I, 463]

December . . . 8, M., at Westcot's, the catch meeting, 4d.

15, M., at Westcott's, catch meeting, 4d.

1662/3 [I, 467]

January . . . 19, M., . . . at Westcote's at the catch meeting, 3d.

26, M., at We[st]cott's catch meting with Mr. [William] Flexney, 6d.

[I, 468]

February . . . 2, M., at Westcote's at the catch-meeting, 6d, being the first time according to Mr. [Henry] Denton's proposall of laying downe each man as much.

⁴⁰ Clark [I, 454, n. 8] observes that the last phrase was scored out by Wood, the proper place for it being above, under date the 24th. But it was at Westcote's, not at Jeans's, that these meetings were held.

⁴¹ On the same day, Wood went to Ellis's as well, noted for the first time since the previous May; perhaps Wood's interests were diverted for a time.

During the brief period of six months, Wood attended the Westcote catch meetings, which were usually held on Mondays. The members appear to have differed from Ellis's, although Wood took Flexney, one of the "music masters" and the only singer named in the 1656 Ellis meetings. However, when the members decided to raise the price of attending, Wood's records of his attendance stopped.⁴² By March, he was back at Ellis's music meeting. Around the same time, he had joined a group of men interested in scientific studies, but his abiding interest was music:

1663 [I, 475]

May 30, S., the Chiminal Club concluded and A. W. paid Mr. Sthael 30 shill., having in the beginning of the class given 30 shillings beforehand. A. W. got some knowledge and experience, but his mind still hung after antiquities and musick.

The following passage about Narcissus Marsh can be supplemented with further information. Marsh was a student at Magdalen College when he received his Bachelor's degree in 1657; he became a Fellow of Exeter College, where he took a Master of Arts (1660), a Bachelor of Divinity (1667), and finally a Doctor of Divinity (1671).⁴³ In his list of the principals of St. Albans' Hall, situated on the east side of Merton College, Wood recorded that Marsh was admitted as Principal "12 May, 1673. He became Provost of Trinity College by Dublin in December, 1678."⁴⁴ About the activity at St. Albans', Wood recorded in his "Indices pro annis 1660-1680" (Tanner MS 102, part ii):

1673 [II, 264]

May 12, M., Narcissus Marsh, fellow of Exeter, [admitted] princi-

⁴² Clark [V, 74] explains that each person paid 6d. "in drink, 'for the good of the house'."

⁴³ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford from 1500 to 1690*, (London, 1691) 3rd ed., with additions by Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813-21; reprint ed., New York and London, Johnson Reprint, 1967), col. 498. Wood also gives here the following:

"This person, who was well skill'd in the practical part of music, did, while fellow of Ex. coll. and prin. of S. Alb. hall, keep a weekly meeting or consort of instrumental, and sometimes of vocal music, in his lodgings for such who were conversant and delighted in that faculty, purposely to refresh his mind and senses, after they were in a manner doz'd and tired out with philosophical and theological studies."

⁴⁴ Wood, *History and Antiquities* (Gutch ed.) I, p. 658.

pal of Alban hall; made it flourish, kept up a severe discipline, never without 40 at last, kept up a weekly meeting for musick, . . .

Marsh himself kept a diary, from which this passage for the year 1664 is taken:

I had before this betaken myself to the practice of Musick, especially of the Bass Viol, and after the fire of London, I constantly kept a weekly consort (of instrumental musick and sometimes vocal) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, and then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford.⁴⁵

Clearly, from Marsh's account, he held a music meeting at Exeter College after 1666; how long before 1664 he had played the bass viol, and whether Wood included Marsh among the Ellis participants "but seldome play'd" already in 1658/9, are uncertain. In the following account, Wood may be referring to a meeting arranged by Marsh at Exeter:

1662 [I, 455]

18 Sept., Th., Joseph Maynard chose rector [of Exeter]. This man was good naturd, generous, and a good scholar: but having been absent from the college neare 20 yeares had forgot the way of a college life and the decorum of a scholar. He was given much to bibbing; and would set in fellowes' chambers where there was a musick meeting, smoke and drink till he was drunk and led to his lodgings by bachelaurs. This being notorious, they got . . . to resigne his place.⁴⁶

The music meetings held by Narcissus Marsh appear to have been the longest-lasting series taking place in the colleges, continuing from perhaps 1666 to 1678. From Wood's accounts, the following summary can be drawn up: [I, 205] Magdalen College — Thomas Janes "seldome played" at the Ellis meetings, but "had a

⁴⁵ Dublin, Marsh Library, MS Z2.2.3b, p. 9; quoted by Richard Charteris, "Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 13 (1976): 35. Charteris presents evidence that the six sets of partbooks or scores of viol consort music now in Dublin were compiled while Marsh held his meetings in Oxford, and that one of the many copyists was George Jeffreys, whose son Christopher "is known to have been one of the persons who attended Marsh's weekly music meetings" (p. 38). Anthony Wood identified Christopher as an organist and harpsichordist in the Ellis meeting in 1659.

⁴⁶ Clark [I, 456, n. 2] adds that in August 1666 Maynard exchanged the rectorship of Exeter College for a canonry of Exeter Cathedral.

weekly meeting in his chamber at the Coll, practiced much on the Theorbo lute, and Gervace Westcote being often with him as an instructor, A. W. would sometimes go to their meeting and play with them." Wood himself may have held some meetings in his own rooms across from Merton College in 1657/8, a year after he began recording his attendance at Ellis's, and just at the time when he was keeping his instruments in good repair. The expenses he incurred may indicate that he was the host for the company:

[I, 237]

February. — 9, T., for my musick-meeting, 8d.

25, Th., for violl-strings, 7d; the same for my musick-meeting, 9d.

[I, 238]

March. — 8, M., for cider and musick meting, 1s 6d.

[I, 242]

April. — 2, F., . . . the same, for cider for my musick-meting, 1s.

[I, 275]

Wadham College — every Friday night, in the winter time . . . in the chamber of Henry Langley, or of Samuel Woodford.

[I, 275]

Queen's College — in the chamber of Christopher Harrison.

[I, 231]

Nov. the 13, F. [1657], I was with Mr. [Christopher] Harrison in his chamber in Q[ueen's] C[ollege] with Mr. S[amuel] W[oodford].

[I, 275]

Oriel College — every Friday night, in the winter time . . . in that of Charles Perot.

[I, 275]

New College — in another at New Coll. [perhaps the rooms of Thomas Ken, the only member of the 1658 Ellis meetings named from this college].

Most of these college meetings are recorded as having been held during the same period, from 1656 through 1658/9. Wood later recalled that they "were not continued above 2 or 3 yeares, and I think they did not go beyond the yeare 1662." He did record a later, perhaps unique, event held in the college rooms of an Ellis participant:

1662/3 [I, 469]

March. — 3, T., given to London musick, prisoners at [Daniel]

Prince's the sergeant, being at Mr. [Charles] Bridgman's chamber at Queen's Coll., 1s.

For as many as thirteen years, Anthony Wood frequented the house of William Ellis, and many of the occasions were associated with music. On each of the days Wood recorded, he notes that he usually paid 6d., a sum perhaps for refreshments, but perhaps also to sustain a livelihood for William Ellis when he maintained his establishment during his expulsion from the chapel of St. John's College. Wood further displayed his abiding interest in music by compiling a manuscript entitled "Biographical Notes on Musicians" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood D 19 [4]), in which he wrote this entry for Ellis that further explains his income:

He died in ye latter end of 1679 aged 80 or more—& was buried in the yard belonging to S. Mary Magd[alen] in the north suburb of Oxon.⁴⁷

After Cathedrals & Organs were put down in the grand rebellion he kept up a weekly meeting in his house opposite to that place where the theater was afterwards built, which kept him and his wife in a comfortable condition. The meeting was much frequented and many masters of music were there, and such that had betrayed no choires, being out of all employ, & therefore of meetings as all other musick meetings did flourish, & musick especially vocal being discontinued by the presbyterians & Independents, because it savoured much of Catholicalls and Episcopacy, it was there more used and florishd; but when K. Ch. 2 was restored & episcopacy & cathedrals with it, then did the meetings decay, especially for this reason because the masters of musick were called away to cathedrals & collegiat choires.

A tabulation of Wood's jottings in his almanac-journals of his attendances at the Ellis meetings, his expenses, and the people he met in association with the meetings, will help to supplement his more extended accounts in his autobiographical drafts, to illustrate the rises and declines of Wood's musical interest while he carried on other antiquarian pursuits, and to record the continuation of the Ellis meetings past 1662 until at least 1669, when Wood abruptly stopped attending.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Wood records on January 12, 1679/80: "I gave a visit to Mrs. . . . Ellis the wife of Will. Ellis, Bachelor of music . . . Shee told me she was then 104 yeares of age . . . [She] died about Michaelmas [September 29th] following; he about Our Lady day [March 25th] following."

⁴⁸ To conserve space in this tabulation, only the dates will be given, and not the location in Clark's edition of *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*.

| | | |
|---------|--|-------------------|
| 1656/7: | 9 Car. II, 4/5 Oliv. prot.; Wood act. 25 | |
| March | 10, T., at Mr. Ellis'es | 6d |
| April | 14 T., At Elleses | 6d |
| | 28 T., spent | 6d ⁴⁹ |
| May | 5 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 11 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 20 W., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 22 W., at Elleses and at Harding's | 1s, 2d |
| | 25 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 29 F., at Elleses | 1s |
| June | 5 F., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 9 T., at Elleses and at Earles | 1s, 3d |
| | 12 F., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 16 T., at Elleses and at Earleses | 1s |
| | 19 F., to the clerk of St. Ebbs and at Elleses | 1s |
| | 26 F., at Elleses | 6d |
| July | 11 S., at Elleses | 6d |
| Aug. | 11 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 18 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 20 Th., spent at Elleses | 1s |
| | 25 T., at Mr. Elleses and at Mr. Erles | 1s, 4d |
| Sept. | 7 M., spent at Elleses | 1s |
| | 8 T., spent | 6d ⁵¹ |
| | 15 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 22 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Oct. | 13 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 27 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Nov. | 5 Th., spente at Earles with Ellis | 11d ⁵² |
| | 12 W., given Elleses maides box | 1s ⁵³ |

⁴⁹ On numerous occasions, Wood notes simply that he spent 6d.; this Tuesday (the day when he appears to have usually frequented Ellis's) is such an instance. However, since it is not clear what the expense was for, or whether Wood was recording a visit to one of the many taverns, cider- or ale-houses he frequented (such as Harding's or Earles's), other such annotations will not be included here. But also see Sept. 8 below and note 51.

⁵⁰ Clark [V, 43] observes that "Wood also went to the [Ellis] house on other days, possibly to attend music-meetings arranged for an unusual day, possibly simply as to an ale-house." He suggests that an occasion on Monday, August 9, 1658 (noted below) may be such an example.

⁵¹ Clark [I, 226, n. 4] notes that these two entries (Sept. 7 and 8) are in pencil. Both therefore appear to refer to Ellis's.

⁵² Ellis appears only once with Wood at a tavern.

⁵³ Clark [V, 43] explains that "the servant-maid at the house had, according to the then custom of tips, a 'box' to which about Christmas-time the frequenters of the meeting gave a small sum." The same circumstance may explain the entry for Jan. 25, 1660/1 [I, 378], not included below in this tabulation.

| | | |
|---|--|------------------|
| Dec. | 8 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 10 Th., at Elles | 8d |
| | 17 Th., for stringes | 7d |
| | 29 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| 1657/8: 10 Car. II, 5 Oliv./1 Rich. protect: Wood aet. 26 | | |
| Jan. | 12 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 19 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| Feb. | 2 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 9 T., for my musick-meeting | 8d |
| | 9 T., for my musick-meeting | 8d |
| | 16 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 18 Th., to Bishop for mending my viall | 1s |
| | 23 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 25 Th., for violl-strings | 7d |
| | the same, for my musick-meeting | 9d |
| March | 2 for stringes | 4d |
| | 5 F., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 8 M., for cider and musick meeting | 1s, 6d |
| | 16 T., att Elleses | 8d |
| | 30 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| April | 2 F., for cider for my musick-meting | 1s |
| | 27 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| May | 11 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 12 W., at Elleses | 6d |
| June | 1 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 8 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 15 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 22 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 29 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| July | 6 T., at Mr. Elleses | 6d |
| | 10 S., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 13 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 14 W., att Elleses | 6d |
| | the same, spent with Mr. [John] Gamble and Mr. [Thomas] Pratt at Tavern | 4s |
| | the same, att Elleses for a lodging | 1s ⁵⁴ |
| | 15 Th., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 20 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 24 S., spent att Mr. Elleses on M. [Thomas] Baltzier, Mr. [Edward] Low, etc. | 1s |
| | 27 T., att Elleses | 6d |

⁵⁴ Clark [I, 255, n. 5] observes: "this looks as though Wood had kept late hours that night and found the door at home locked." The reason for his lateness was the visit of two well-known musicians from London (see below).

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Aug. | 9 M., lent Mr. [Will.] Bull my booke of playes; the same day att Elleses with him | 6d |
| | 17 T., spent on Mr. [Davis] Mell | 3s, 6d |
| Sept. | | |
| Oct. | | |
| Nov. | 2 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 30 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Dec. | 20 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 27 M., at Elleses | 1s |
| 1658/9: xi. Car. II: Wood aet. 27 | | |
| Jan. | 3 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 15 S., to Bishop for mending my violin | 1s |
| Feb. | 1 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 8 T., at Elleses | 6d ⁵⁵ |
| April | | |
| May | 31 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| June | 7 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| July | 12 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| Aug. | 2 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 9 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 16 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | the same, spent at widdow Flexnye's with Mr. [John] Curteyne, Knightley, [William] Flexney | 6d |
| Sept. | 6 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | the same, spent at the Crowne Tavern with Mr. [John] Curtyne | 11d |
| Oct. | 18 T., at Elleses and spent | 1s |
| Nov. | 1 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Dec. | 20 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| 1659/60: 12 Car. II: Wood aet. 28 | | |
| Jan | | |
| Feb. | | |
| March | 12 M., at Elleses | 6d |
| April | 3 T., Elleses | 6d |
| May | 1 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 24 Th., spent at the Crowne Tavern with Mr. Levens, Gurney, Glendall, [Sylvanus] Taylor, Hill, Coe [Edward Lowe?], Flower, Ward, [Christopher] Harrison, [Francis] Parry, Godwin, [Ger-vase] Westcot, [Thomas] Janes, etc. | 2s ⁵⁶ |

⁵⁵ It is in his autobiographical drafts for March 1658/9 that Wood wrote his second substantial account of the Ellis meetings (see note 37), so that his annotations in the almanac-journals during this period showing only a once-monthly visit may warrant further additions.

⁵⁶ Although not a meeting at Ellis's house, this celebration included a number of Wood's musical friends, and marked an event at the Music School (see below).

| | | |
|---------|---|------------------|
| June | 26 T., Elleses | 6d |
| July | 10 at Elleses | 6d |
| Aug. | | |
| Sept. | 4 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 18 T., at Elleses | 6d ⁵⁷ |
| Oct. | 2 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | 30 T., spent att Elleses | 6d |
| Nov. | 13 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Dec. | | |
| 1660/1: | 13 Car. II: Wood aet. 29 | |
| Jan. | 25 F., at Elleses | 6d |
| March | 26 T., att Elleses | 6d |
| | to Mr. [Matthew] Hutton to have some ink made | 6d ⁵⁸ |
| April | | |
| May | 7 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 14 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| June | 12 W., at Elleses | 6d |
| July | 16 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Aug. | | |
| Sept. | | |
| Oct. | | |
| Nov. | 5 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| Dec. | | |
| 1661/2: | 14 Car. II: Wood aet. 30 | |
| Jan. | | |
| Feb. | | |
| March | 11 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| April | 24 Th., at Pinnock's with Francis Napier, Mr. Stafford, Henry Lawes and my brother Robert | 8d ⁶⁰ |

⁵⁷ Clark [I, 331] observes that "it is plain that the above almanac entries for September do not by any means represent Wood's book purchases in that month," and lists many other books dated by Wood "Sept. 1660." By now as well, Wood may not have noted every visit to Ellis's house among his other jottings, or may indicate only the times when he played music there on Tuesdays.

⁵⁸ Wood records many occasions when he met with Matthew Hutton, one of the Ellis participants, who was also an antiquary and a music copyist (see below, note 82).

⁵⁹ Wood noted elsewhere [I, 406f] that his friend William Bull died July 15, 1661, aged 28.

⁶⁰ Although not a record of an Ellis visit, this annotation of a tavern meeting with Wood, the composer Henry Lawes and others, merits inclusion.

| | | |
|---------|--|------------------|
| May | 20 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | 29 Th., spent at Surey's and widow Flaxney's with [John] Curteyne and Mr. [William] Flaxney | 6d ⁶¹ |
| June | | |
| July | | |
| Aug. | | |
| Sept. | [this month marked the beginning of the catch meetings at Westcote's; these, and the single visit to Ellis's, are recorded at Feb., 1662/3 above.] | |
| 1662/3: | 15 Car. II: Wood aet. 31 | |
| March | 24 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| April | 7 T., at Elleses at the musick | 6d |
| | 21 T., at Elleses musick meeting | 6d |
| May | 1 F., at Mat[thew] Leeches with the chimicall club | 2s ⁶² |
| | 26 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| June | 2 T., at Elleses meeting | 2d |
| | 9 T., at Elleses meeting . . . | |
| July | 14 T., at Elleses | 6d |
| | [no references to the Ellis meetings are given for the rest of this year] | |
| 1663/4: | 16 Car. II: Wood aet. 32 | |
| | [no references to the Ellis meetings are given for the first five months] | |
| June | 21 T., at Elleses musick | 6d |
| July | | |
| Aug. | 2 T., at Elleses where I heard Mr. Burrous play | 6d |
| | 9 T., at Elleses musick | 6d |
| Sept. | | |
| Oct. | | |
| Nov. | | |
| Dec. | 27 T., at Elleses the musick meeting | 6d |
| 1664/5: | 17 Car. II: Wood aet. 33 | |

⁶¹ This is one of many annotations about being with John Curteyne, a close friend of Wood's, and here along with Flexney. Like his friends, Curteyne played the viol (see below) and all were singers (see above).

⁶² This notice of Wood's participation in a scientific society occurs in the same month as his remark about science and music, quoted above.

January⁶³
 Feb.
 March
 April 18 T., at Elleses 6d
 May
 June
 July
 Aug. 1 T., at Elleses musick meeting, where I heard
 Mr. Burgaise a French man play upon the
 french lute 6d
 Sept.
 Oct. 17 T., at Elleses at the music meeting 6d
 [no further references to the Ellis meetings for the rest of
 this year]⁶⁴
 1665/6: 18 Car. II: Wood aet. 34
 [no almanac-journal entries about the Ellis meetings for the
 first six months]⁶⁵

⁶³ Clark [II, 29] notes that Wood acquired some music in this month: *Select musicall ayres and dialogues in three bookes*, London, 1653, with Wood's annotation "Ant. Wood, Th. Jan 26, 1664[5], pretium 2s 8d" [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 397 (1)]. Other music purchases he noted include:

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1653, with his note that he purchased it on "Jan. 13, 1666/7" [Oxford, Bodleian Library Wood 397 (2)];

Matthew Locke, *Little Consort of 3 parts for Viols and Violins*, London, 1656, with his marking "Ant. Woode, Mert. Coll. Oxon A.D. MDCLVI," his almanac-journal for Jan. 20, T., 1656/7 records this purchase for 2s 4d [Oxford, Bodleian Library Wood 277, 278, 279];

Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist*, London, 1659, is included among a bound volume of loose tracts and pamphlets dating from 1639 to 1680, with no date of acquisition noted [Oxford, Bodleian Library Wood 657 (1)].

Wood's musical acquisitions warrant further study.

⁶⁴ An explanation for the decline in public meetings in this period may be the outbreak of a plague in London, causing the Court and Parliament to settle in Oxford. Wood [II, 57] records their September arrival in the colleges, the use of the Schools for the Houses of Lords and Commons, and their departure in January and February 1665/6. His view of the situation is typically frank: "The townsmen, who were gainers by the court, grew rich and proud, and cared not for scholars; but when the court was gon they sneaked to them againe. To give a further character of the court, they, though they were neat and gay in their apparell, yet they were very nasty and beastly, leaving at their departure their excrements in every corner, in chimneys, studies, colehouses, cellers. Rude, rough, whoremongers; vaine, empty, carelesse." [II, 68 (154)].

⁶⁵ About music purchased in January, 1666/7, see note 53. In June Wood travelled to London for the first time [II, 111 (170)], where he studied archives in Westminster, St. James, and the Tower. On being introduced to Sir John Cotton through William Dugdale, Wood found Cotton in his house: "He was then practicing on his lute with his instructor, and when he had done, he came out to him in the hall." [II, 109 (167)]

July 2 T., at Elleses and for cherries 9d
 [no entries for Ellis for five months]
 Dec. 3 T., at Elleses 6d
 10 T., at Elleses 6d
 1667/8: 20 Car. II: Wood aet. 36
 Jan. 7 T., at Elleses 6d
 [no entries for Ellis, 3 months]⁶⁶
 May 26 T., at Elleses, etc. 3d
 [no further entries for Ellis]
 1668/9: 21 Car. II: Wood aet. 37
 [no entries for Ellis, Jan.-May]
 June 8 T., at Ellises 6d
 15 T., at Elleses 6d
 22 T., Ellis 6d
 29 T., at Ellises 6d

Wood's last recorded visits to the Ellis House, as almost always on Tuesdays, occurred in a sudden spate of four successive weeks during June, 1669. Late in that month, he suffered an experience that affected any subsequent interest in music:

[II, 163 (180)]

June 26, S., A.W. was dismiss from his usual and constant diet, which for many yeares he had taken in the house where he was borne, and then lived, by the rudeness and barbarity of a brutish woman [his sister-in-law], of which she afterward repented, when too late. A.W. was put to his shifts, a greate deale of trouble, and knew not what to doe, because his dismiss was suddaine, whereas there should have been a month's warning at least. He was asham'd to go to a publick house, because he was a senior master, and because his relations lived in Oxon: and to go to Merton Coll. (which he had left, as to his diet, for several yeares before) he was much resolv'd in himself against it . . . By his much fasting, and drinking more than usually, the whole course of his body was chang'd. Weaknesses came into several of his joynts, especially in the leggs, and great noises in his eares: and in the next yeare he found a deafness, first in his right, and afterwards in his left, eare, which continued more or less till death. This disaster A.W. look'd upon as the first and greatest misery of his life. It made him exceeding melancholy and more retir'd . . .

The daily jottings in the almanac-journals stopped in July,

⁶⁶ In 1667/8, Wood noted [II, 124] "the small pox rageth much about the kingdom and especially in Oxon."

1669, and after they were resumed in November, there are no further references to visiting William Ellis's house.

Other playing opportunities for Wood and his friends may have been noted in the almanac-journals, on the numerous occasions when he recorded their meetings in cookshops, cider or ale-houses, or taverns. Two of Wood's frequent companions were Matthew Hutton (whom he included among the Ellis participants as "an excellent violist"), and John Curteyne (Wood's doctor from 1663 until his marriage in 1668 and death in 1669). Curteyne's name does not appear in the Ellis lists, but Wood did allude to his owning a viola da gamba in an anecdote about apparitions in January, 1663/4:

[II, 4 (143)]

This puts mee in mind of Mr. J[ohn] C[urteyne], who when he lay awake in his chamber at L[incoln] C[ollege] and his viol standing in a corner, something played over his strings, etc . . .

Although Wood records his meetings with various combinations of his musical companions and others, he rarely specifies that such meetings were associated with music. Those occasions when the association is clear have been noted in the tabulation above.

In his March, 1659 account of the meetings at William Ellis's house, Anthony Wood explained that they "began to decay, because they were held up only by scholars, who wanted directors and instructors, &c." He named the "masters of musick" in relation to the meetings of the "scholastic musitians" in the colleges, and the three named were all described as singing-men in college chapels in Wood's 1656 account: after the Restoration, Flexney went to Christ Church, Jackson and Westcote returned to St. John's College chapel. A noticeable omission by Wood in his 1659 account involves two "masters of musick" who figured large in 1656: Dr. John Wilson and Edward Lowe. The reason for their absence from the later Ellis meetings may well pertain to the conditions established for the endowed chair of Professor of Music and the operation of the Music School at Oxford.

For the purpose of this study, this summary of the music professors noted by Anthony Wood at the beginning of his almanac-journal in 1661/2 will serve:

[I, 427]

Lectores Musice. [Richard] Nicolson of Magd[alen] C[ollege]; he died in the beginning of the war. Arthur Phillips, organist of Magd[alen], succeeded circa 1638. John Wilson, Dr. of Mus[ic], put in by Dr. [John] Owen anno 1655. Edward Low, 1661, latter end of the year.

The new chair in Music, an endowed professorship, was established at Oxford by William Heather, who was "the first to accumulate both degrees — bachelor and doctor — at one time (1622). A professional musician and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, . . . Heather's commencement composition is said to have been written by Orlando Gibbons, possibly the anthem "O Clap Your Hands;" and according to a reliable source, Gibbons's doctorate was also honorary, to accompany Dr. Heather."⁶⁷ A letter written to Degory Wheare, Principal of Gloucester Hall, by Heather when the Court and Parliament were resident at Oxford during an outbreak of plague in London in 1625, survives in the University Archives (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Reg. Conv. N 23, fol. 222), and defines Heather's plan:

Good Mr. Wheare, let me instruct you to undertake with Mr. Vice chancelor to know how ye universitie will like of my purpose which I meane to doe. That is to bestowe a winde instrument and a chest of Vialls and as many Setts of books as I can get for love or mony, and yearely allowance of ten pounds by the yeare to have them kept continually in Tune, and that I would have one afternoon in ye week for ye practise of Musick and to stand in ye musicke Schoole, in which ye Theorie is redd. I have involved the kinge in it, and hee likes it very well, and hee told me, he would speak to the Attorney to give way for the conveyance of Land for it. I was with the Attorney before, and hee willed me to move the king in it, and so I did. After I have word from you, I will with as much speede as I can send my instrument to Oxford.

When the university accepted this bequest, a convocation was held (Nov. 16, 1626) confirming its stipulations. These were later recorded by Anthony Wood in his *Annals*:

The FOUNDER'S request of the Musick Lecture (2) Imprimis, that the Exercise of Musick be constantly kept every week,

⁶⁷ Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance," *The Musical Quarterly* 41 (April 1955): 198. Her reliable source is Anthony Wood.

on Thursday in the afternoon, afternoons in Lent excepted. Secondly, I appoint Mr. Nicholson, the now Organist of Magd. Coll. to be the Master of the Musick, and to take charge of the Instruments . . . Thirdly, I do appoint the said Master to bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid, and there to receive such company as will practise Musick, and to play lessons of three Parts, if none other come. Lastly, I ordain that once every year the Instruments be viewed and the books: and that neither of these be lent abroad upon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed.⁶⁸

The Music School was a room in the great Quadrangle which was added on to the Bodleian Library, 1613-19. [Illustration VI is a copy of an engraving from David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675] Until at least 1642, Music was housed on the first floor, next to Astronomy, and above the Rhetoric School on the ground floor, as it was in the beginning of the royal occupation of that year when Wood described their present uses:

[I, 83]

the magazin for cloth for soldiers' apparrell and coates was in the Musicke Schoole, and in the Astronomy Schoole adjoyninge to it. . . . The drawe bridges were all made & framed in the Rhetoricke Schoole.

Rachel Lane Poole concluded in 1912 that the Music and Rhetoric Schools changed places so that the Music School was made more accessible on the ground floor in the southeast corner of the Quadrangle, and that the alteration "must have been accomplished by [John] Wilson at the beginning of his tenure in the

⁶⁸ Wood, *History and Antiquities* (Gutch ed.) I, p. 358. The entire official enactment is given by Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 556, who adds (p. 558) the following passage from Feb. 20, 1626/7:

"Witneseth that the said William Heather . . . hath giuen . . . one Annuity or yearlie Rent charge of Sixteene Poundes sixe shillings and eight pence . . . to . . . maintaine . . . one able and fitt man, who shal be called the Musick Master, to plaie and exercise Musick with twoe boyes in his Companie . . . and . . . shall . . . yearlie paie unto the said Musick Master . . . the some of Thirtene Poundes sixe shillings and eight pence . . . And further . . . paie . . . the other Three Poundes residue . . . for the maintenance . . . of one able and fitt man who shall lecture and read the Theorie of Musick once euery tearme or oftner . . ."

Carpenter, "Study," p. 195, explains that "the theoretical part of the Music Professorship, in fact, eventually became a part of the Music Act at Commencement," read usually by a *Magister Artium* rather than a musician.

chair of music."⁶⁹ [Illustration VII shows the floor plans in 1665, from Wood's *Life*, Clark, ed., II, pp. 63-4; Illustrations VIII and IX (a detail) show the Quadrangle and the Music School from David Loggan's engraving of 1675.] Mrs. Poole presented the contents of some loose bills recently found in a seventeenth-century Vice-Chancellor's waste basket which were accidentally preserved in the University Archives (N.W.3.4.). As these documents pertain directly to the present study, they are presented below, some in facsimile reproduction.

University Archives N.W.3.4.

page [90]

Carpenters worke done in ye Musicke Schoole & att St. Maryes [dated on side:] July 23, 1655.

for ye Musicke Schoole 3 men — 3 days; 2 men — 2 days
700 of 8 penny nayles in ye Musicke Schoole . . 100 & half of Boards . . .

page [168]

The carpinters bill Janr the 8 1656 [dated Jan 13, 1656/ [7]]
A note of worke done about tacking downe of the floures in the Musick Scoole and for seting it up in another Scoole:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Item. For Richard Sheepard 5 dayes at 20 a day | 8s 4d |
| It. For Richard Frogly 5 dayes at 20d a daye | 8s 4d |
| It. For William Wildgos 4 dayes at 18d a day | 6s |
| It. For nails | 3s 6d |

page [171]

Musick Scoole (& Lecture) Feabeary the 12th 1656

| | |
|--|----------|
| To John Wild the Elder 3 dayes work for altering the | |
| Rales in the Musick Scoll | £0 6s 0d |
| For 4 fout of bords & ye nails | 10d |
| For 8 new Chares | £2 8s |

page [173]

March ye 7th, 1656

| | |
|--|---------|
| 12 Quire of Large Paper Ruled in 4to at 3s 4d a quire, | £2.0. 0 |
| Pint of Inke and a glass | 0.1. 6 |
| beside all these Bills I have Laide out | 8. |

2£:9:0

[reverse side:] March 14th 1656

| | | |
|------------|-------------|---------|
| Recd | John Wilson | £ s d |
| | [signature] | 2. 9. 0 |

⁶⁹ Rachel Lane Poole, "The Oxford Music School and the Collection of Portraits formerly preserved there," *The Musical Antiquary* 4 (1912-13): 150.

page [175]

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| A note of Bowes made for Schoole Vialls. | s | d |
| Item. For 2 Bows ffor base violls | 4 | 8 |
| For 2 Bows ffor tennor violls | 4 | 0 |
| For 2 Bows ffor trebble violls | 3 | 4 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|----|---|
| | £ | | |
| It. 2 bands round Catt | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 band best minikins | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 2 dossen best Lyon Catt at 3s | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| For mending four violls | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| pd for Carrage of ye books | 0 | 2 | 0 |

Sum 3. 3. 6

[reverse side:]

March 14th 1656

RecdJohn Wilson 3 - 3 - 6
[signature]

page [179]

Worke done at the Schooles . . .

| | |
|---|-------|
| For mending the Locke of the Musick Schole Dore | 1s |
| For a new key to the Musick Schoole Doare | 1s 6d |
| For a new key to the Raile Dore | 1s 2d |
| For a new key to the great Cheast in that schole | 1s |
| For a new key to the Cheast wheare the Bookes are | 1s |
| For a new Dobel casement in that schoole | 10s |

[dated] Aprill the 13th 1657

page [185]

June 5th John Wild his Bill.

Item for timber delivered to Mr. Haward for the orgine at the scowles the sume of 9s 4d

page [204]

[all in the same hand:]

[Illustration X]

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| | £ | s | d |
| for strings of all sortes | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| for a Sett of Bookes of 3.4.5 and 6 parts in manuscript | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| given in hand to Mr Jackson for pricking of aires for ye scooles | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| for wood for ye Organ | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| for carrying the organ to the scooles | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| som is | 7 | 16 | 0 |

John Wilson
[Signature]

[different hand:]

Aug.21: 1657 This sume above writt, was receaved the day and yeare above written by the appointment of Dr. Wilson

I say receaved

By me Tho: Barlow £ s
7. 16:

page [225]

Sept. 5th 1657. A note of glassing worke done in the Musick Schooll.

| | | |
|--|----|--------|
| For three hundred quarries | £1 | 5s |
| For repairing three hundred foote | £1 | 17s 6d |
| For two & twenty poundes and a halfe of Lead | 3s | 9d |
| | £3 | 6 3 |

page [226]

Sept. 8, 1657

. . . in full awording to an Agreement made for the Repairing of the Organ in the Musick Schoole. £12

John Hayward
[signature]

page [227]

John Hayward's Bill for worke donne belonging to the Schooles:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| | s | d |
| For sawing of boordes and Carriage of same | 8 | 8 |
| For payre tree for ye bridges of ye Hapsicall | | 8 |
| For 2 poundes & a halfe of glew | 6 | 6 |
| For wire for ye bridge pins of ye Hapsicall | 1 | |
| For halfe a pound more of glew | | 3 |
| For beechenwood for ye langwiths & noses | 1 | 6 |
| For one pound more of glew | | 7 |
| For carriage of ye Hapsicall from ye Schooles and to ye Schooles | | 8 |
| payd to a boy for blowing ye bellows in tewning of ye organs | 4 | |
| for nailes | | 2 |
| For seaven sheepe skins | 4 | 8 |
| For making an yron ard pin to draw the stop, paed to ye smith | | 1 |

sumato talis £ s d
1 14 9

Sept. 24, 1657

Recd . . . by me John Hayward
[signature]

page [232]

[Illustration XI]

| | s | d |
|--|----------|-----|
| for 18 daies to a labourer for helping the organ maker | 18 | |
| for coulre, Brass wier, Glue and other small things | 3 | 6 |
| for strings | 12 | 0 |
| To Mr. Jackson | 10 | 0 |
| for oaken board | 0 | 6 |
| | som is 2 | 4 6 |
| [different hand] | | |
| more for wood, e deskes, e paynting | 0 | 5 0 |
| | sum 2 | 9 6 |

Jo: Wilson
[signature]

[same hand as above:]
Octob: 14th 1657

Recd: . . .

John Wilson
[signature]

Rachel Lane Poole concluded, after presenting some of these receipts, that "it is clear from these bills in what a state of dilapidation Wilson found the Music School, which it may be presumed had not been put to its proper use for fourteen years."⁷⁰ When John Hawkins wrote about the Music School in his *General History of Music* of 1776, he included therein a transcription of the writing on a notice dated 1675, and observed: "The paper containing the above accounts being pasted on a wainscot board, has been so much injured by the damp, that no more of the writing is legible." (vol. IV, p. 377) Hawkins transcribed this statement from the paper: "All the old instruments and bookes left by the founder, being either lost, broken, or imbeasled in the time of rebellion and usurpation. This collection began in the yeare 1665, and was carryed on in part of the two following yeares, and then ceased by reason of the first Dutch warr, but now completed in this yeare 1675." (vol. IV, p. 375) Margaret Crum, the Bodleian librarian who has conducted a long and intensive study of the Music School manuscripts held in that library, observes: "During the interregnum the Music School suffered some damage, though the extent of loss was exag-

⁷⁰ Poole, "The Oxford Music School . . .," 152.

gerated" in the notice cited by Hawkins.⁷¹ An undated parchment roll which was kept with the music books and bearing the marking "The Catalogue of Musicke-Bookes giuen by Dr. Heather" (Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. C. 203* (R)) includes an addition written by a different hand:

Dr. Heather, the Founders Act-Songs.

Instruments & other goods given by Dr. Heather

A Harpsichord with a winde instrument of two stops.
Tenne Violls
Seaven Chayres.
Seaven Stooles.
A presse for the Songe Books.
A pew for the Musick Reader.
A Table.
Dr. Heathers Picture.⁷²

Although the portrait of Heather has survived, the instruments have not. However, it is evident from the payments receipts which John Wilson signed after he became Heather Professor that he had four viols mended and six bows purchased, besides acquiring strings and directing many other repairs.

No other documents in the university concerning the operation of the Music School during the Commonwealth period have been found. The relocation of the Music School, repairs to the building and to the instruments effected by John Wilson from January to October in 1656/7 must have brought renewed activity in compliance with William Heather's stipulations. One witness of, and participant in, that activity was Anthony Wood. Wood's observations and jottings allow a further opportunity to view the inter-

⁷¹ Margaret Crum, "Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection," *Music and Letters* 48 (Jan. 1967): 27. This valuable study presents a listing of two catalogs kept in the Music School in the latter seventeenth century, including Edward Lowe's numbering of the books, and the present Bodleian shelf mark of those books which she has identified. A study of two lists made by Richard Goodson the younger, who succeeded his father as the Heather Professor in 1718, has been made by Wyn K. Ford, "The Oxford Music School in the Late 17th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (Summer 1964): 198-203.

⁷² Crum, "Early Lists," p. 26, who reports (note 8) that "this hand wrote lists of contents inside the front covers of [Bodleian Library] MS [Mus.] Sch. E. 454 and E. 472." Presumably the added notes about the instruments were written before 1682; Miss Crum suggests no date for the copying of the entire roll.

relation between the Music School and the meetings at William Ellis's house and the musicians involved.

Wood wrote his first long account of the meetings at Ellis's house in March of 1655/6, a year before the repairs to the Music School documented by the receipts signed by John Wilson. Wood's almanacs, having his journal-notes written on their interleaves, begin with the almanac for 1656/7, and the first note of Wood's regular attendance at Ellis's appears on March 10th. That was the month when Wilson had the viols repaired, purchased new bows and strings, and had the doors and locks to the Music School secured. By August, the organ had been carried to the Music School, and Wood noted in his autobiographical draft (Harley MS 5409):

[I, 223]

Aug., the 13th, Th., and 20th, Th., I plaid at the Musick Schole. The day was Thursday, as stipulated in the Heather bequest for the Music School meetings.

When Wood joined in a particularly noteworthy event, he usually noted it in his autobiographical drafts, and sometimes made no record of it in his daily jottings on his almanac-journals. Such is the case for the following account of the visit of Davis Mell sometime around March, 1657/8, when Wood was regularly attending at Ellis's house; evidently, this meeting was not associated with either the Music School or with Ellis's, although three of the participants (Wood, Bull, and Digby — all violinists) were associated with Ellis's meetings:

[I, 241]

In the latter end of this yeare⁷³ Davis Mell, the most eminent violinist of London, being in Oxon, Peter Pett, William Bull, Kenelm Digby, and others of Allsoules, as also A.W., did give him a very handsome entertainment in the taverne cal'd The Salutation in S. Marie's parish Oxon, own'de by Thomas Wood,⁷⁴ son of . . . Wood of Oxon, sometimes servant to the father of A.W. The company did look upon Mr. Mell to have a prodigious hand on the violin, and they thought that no person, as all in London did, could goe beyond him. But when Thomas Baltser, an outlander, came to Oxon in the next yeare, they had other

⁷³ Clark [I, 241, n. 3] explains: "the year with Wood being that ending on 24 March."

⁷⁴ In the Harley MS 5409, Wood added "a dancing-master."

thoughts of Mr. Mell, who tho he played sweeter than Baltzar, yet Baltzar's hand was more quick and could run it insensibly to the end of the finger-board.⁷⁵

Later in the same year, Wood noted that he spent a considerable sum on Mell; in the context it is not certain whether Mell was back in Oxford, or if Wood had spent the money on some music of Mell's:

1658 [I, 258]

August . . . 17, T., spent at the Crowne Taverne with Mr. [Zephaniah] Cresset, 1s; spent on Mr. [Davis] Mell, 3s 6d.

Other visiting performers came to Oxford in July of 1658, and on these occasions Wood noted the events in his journals as well as in his autobiographical drafts. Clear connections are made between the Ellis meetings, the Music Professor (Wilson) and his assistant (Lowe), and the college meetings:

[I, 255]

July . . . 14, W., spent to see the Turk, 6d; the same, att Elleses, 6d; the same, spent with Mr. [John] Gamble and Mr. [Thomas] Pratt at Tavern, 4s; the same, at Elleses for a lodging, 1s.

[I, 256]

July 14, W., A.W. entertain'd two eminent musitians of London, named John Gamble and Thomas Pratt, after they had entertain'd him with most excellent musick at the meeting house of William Ellis. Gamble had obtain'd a great name among the musitians of Oxon for his book before publish'd, entit. 'Ayres and Dialogues to be sung to the Theorbo-Lute or Bass-Viol' [London, 1657]. The other for several compositions, which they played in their consorts.⁷⁶

[I, 256]

July . . . 24, S., spent att Mr. Elleses on M. [Thomas] Baltzier, Mr. [Edward] Low, etc., 1s.

[I, 256]

July 24, S., Thomas Balsar or Baltzar, a Lubecker borne, and

⁷⁵ In the Harley MS 5409, Wood added "some of Mr. Mell's compositions I have. Mell, who had been one of the Musick to King Charles I (and afterwards to King Charles II) had a sweet stroke: Baltzar's was rough."

⁷⁶ In the Harley MS 5409, Wood added "they used now to play;" Clark [I, 256, n. 6] explains "'They,' i.e., Wood and his friends."

the most famous artist for the violin that the world had yet produced, was now in Oxon; and this day A.W. was with him and Mr. Edward Low, lately organist of Ch[rist] Church, at the meeting-house of William Ellis. A.W. did then and there, to his very great astonishment, heare him play on the violin. He then saw him run up his fingers to the end of the finger-board of the violin, and run them back insensibly, and all with alacrity and in very good tune, which he nor any in England saw the like before. A.W. entertain'd him and Mr. Low with what the house could then afford, and afterwards he invited them to the tavern; but they being engaged to goe to other company, he could no more heare him play or see him play at that time. Afterwards he came to one of the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house and he played to the wonder of all the auditory: and exercising his fingers and instrument several wayes to the utmost of his power, Wilson thereupon, the public professor, (the greatest judg of musick that ever was) did, after his humoursome way, stoop downe to Baltzar's feet, to see whether he had a huff on, that is to see whether he was a devill or not, because he acted beyond the parts of man.

About that time it was that Dr. John Wilkins, warden of Wadham Coll[ege], the greatest curioso of his time, invited him and some of the musitians to his lodgings in that coll. purposely to have a consort and see and heare him play. The instruments and books were carried thither, but none could be perswaded there to play against him in consort on the violin. At length the company perceiving A.W. standing behind, in a corner neare the dore, they haled him in among them, and play forsooth he must against him. Whereupon he being not able to avoid it, he took up a violin, and behaved himself as poor Troylus did against Achilles. He was abash'd at it, yet honour he got by playing with, and against, such a grand master as Baltzar was. Mr. Davis Mell was accounted hitherto the best for the violin in England, as I have before told you; but after Baltzar came into England and shewd his most wonderful parts on that instrument, Mell was not so admired; yet he playd sweeter, and was a well bred gentleman and not given to excessive drinking as Baltzar was.

Neither of the two days, Wednesday or Saturday, when these musicians visited the Ellis meeting house, was associated with either the stipulated Music School day (Thursday) or the regular meeting-time at Ellis's, which by then was Tuesday. These were special occasions that merited special notice by Wood. However, Wood does relate that Baltzer "afterwards . . . came to one of the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house;" that occasion may have been the following Tuesday, July 27. An interesting reference to the Wadham

College meeting is that "the instruments and books were carried thither;" were these the instruments and books belonging to the Music School? Te Heather bequest expressly stipulated that "neither of these be lent abroad upon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed." Wood's reference does not appear to be to personal instruments and partbooks owned by his friends. Finally, we may observe that although John Wilson and Edward Lowe were not mentioned among the music masters in his 1658/9 account of the music meetings at Ellis's, they both were among "the auditory" on the two occasions when Baltzar played there in July, 1658.

The next occasion that merited Wood's note in his autobiographical draft marked the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. By then, Wood recorded his attendance at Ellis's house only once each month, but the event marked an end to the public suppression of music during the Commonwealth and perhaps marked some changes in music-making at the Music School and at Ellis's house, as well. Wood's almanac-journal for that Thursday includes the names of some of the players who were his friends at Ellis's, so that the entry warrants repeating:

[I, 314]

May. — . . . 24, Th., spent at the Crowne Tavern with Mr. Levens, Gurney, Glendall, Taylor, Hill, Coe [Edward Lowe?], Flower Ward, Harrison, Parry, Godwin, Westcot, Janes, etc., 2s.

[I, 316]

May 24, Th., there was a most excellent musick-lecture of the practick part in the public school of that facultie, where A.W. performed a part on the violin. There were also voices; and by the direction of Edward Low, organist of Ch[rist] Church, who was then the Deputy Professor for Dr. [John] Wilson, all things were carried very well and gave great content to the most numerous auditory. This meeting was to congratulate his majestie's safe arrival to his kingdoms. The school was exceeding full, and the gallery at the end of the school was full of the female sex. After all was concluded, Mr. Low and some of the performers, besides others that did not performe, retired to the Crowne Taverne where they drank a health to the king, the two dukes, [George] Monke &c. Of the number of performers that were there present were Sylvanus Taylour of Alls[oules] coll., Christopher Harrison of Queen's coll., Francis Parry of C[orpus] C[hristie] coll, A. Wood &c besides some masters of musick. There were also

with them William Levinz, . . . Henry Flower of Wadham Coll, &c. These were not performers; only the last. There were other but their names I have forgot.

Having restored and strengthened the Music School and its activities, John Wilson resigned his position in 1661, aged 66 years. Wood noted the change:

[I, 420]

This mounth [November] or thereabouts Mr. [Edward] Low was chosen musick professor in Dr. [John] Wilson's place, (a diligent man in his place, busie and forward).⁷⁷

Wilson was reappointed to the King's Musick and succeeded Henry Lawes as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on Lawes' death in 1662.⁷⁸ Wood continued his occasional visits to Ellis's, which he sometimes noted were "musick meetings." It appears that some of these meetings featured visiting musicians, perhaps playing in some kind of concert circumstances, as he notes that he "heard Mr. Burrous play" on Tuesday, August 2, 1664, and "heard Mr. Burgaise a French man play upon the french lute" on Tuesday, August 1, 1665. Such visits may have been arranged by William Ellis following the precedents of the visits of John Gamble, Thomas Pratt, and Thomas Baltzar in July, 1658 to his meetings.

Only rarely did Anthony Wood record a musical event in the Music School after the Restoration. There is no mention found among his writings of the visit by Matthew Locke to Oxford in 1665, as recorded by Edward Lowe in a note written on loose papers and music bound together in the nineteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. C: 44):

fol. 1:

This songe & Phantasie was made by Mr Mathew Locke to carry on the Meetinge at ye musick schoole. Thursday ye 16th Novem: 1665.

From another note written by Lowe, Locke appears to have per-

⁷⁷ The last passage (referring to Wilson?) was added by Wood at a later time.

⁷⁸ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Wilson, John."

formed at the meeting a Thursday before in the same month:

fol. 146:

This prelude for two violins & a Base viol was made prickt, & sunge, at ye musick schoole, between ye Houres of 12 & 3 afternoone the 9th of November by Mr. Lock who did it to add to his songe Jubilate and sunge the Base then himselfe & Mr. Blaggrave ye countertenor.

Wood did record his attendance at a Thursday Music School meeting later that year, when visitors to Oxford were the guests. This event took place while the Court and Parliament were resident there because of the plague outbreak in London;⁷⁹ during this period, Wood wrote no notes of his attending Ellis's meetings, if they were held.

[II, 69]

Jan. 11, Th., '65 [i.e., 1665/6], Mr. Banister of London and divers of the king's musitians gave us a very good meeting at the Schooles in musick, where he played on a little pipe or flagellet in consort: which hath bin about seven yeares in fashion; but contrary to the rule in musick 30 years [ago], which was grave.

A final account from this period relating to the Music School pertains to another more official visit, that of Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, who arrived in Oxford on May 3, 1669. Two descriptions of this visit survive in Wood's papers (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood MS D 19 (3)): one (fol. 24) by Wood, and the other (fol. 26) written for him. Wood the musician is more observant about such matters than his friend, and he records a viol player not elsewhere mentioned by him:

(fol. 24) [II, 158]

May 4, T., . . . Then to the Musick Schoole, where he heard a song sung by . . . Crispine an undergraduate student of Ch[rist] Ch[urch] and a division by Mr. . . . Withie on the base viol. which being done he went up into the library and saw that place and all its rarities. After which he went home to his inne, and the vice-chancellor with him . . .

(fol. 26) [II, 161]

Tuesday, May; . . . The last School they went into was the

⁷⁹ See above, note 64.

Musick where they had a consort of the organ and a set of viols, and a Latin song. The rest of the professors were attending their several Schools, if they had pleased to have stayed longer, or the time permitted, for now it was about 7 of the clock.

Apart from the somewhat conflicting testimony about the musical instrumentation, these narratives describe an event when the various Schools were on display to an official visitor, and music was performed on a day other than the Thursday Music School meeting time. The viol player was probably Francis Withy, who was quite active as a copyist for Edward Lowe, as his hand has been found by Margaret Crum in numerous Music School manuscripts. Although Withy is not otherwise mentioned by Wood, evidence exists that he played with other musicians who were also associated with the Ellis meetings. Among the loose papers that form the manuscript Mus. Sch. C. 44 is a set of parts by an anonymous composer copied by Edward Lowe. Scrawled in pencil at the top of the treble part is Lowe's note "Mr. Withy" (fol. 156) and for the bass "Mr. Flaxney" (fol. 152).

The Wood accounts and extant records in the university indicate that the music meetings at Ellis's house were held during the Commonwealth in the 1650s in order to compensate for the disrepair and the inactivity at the Music School. College meetings supplemented these meetings until 1662, and apparently the Marsh meetings (from 1666 to 1678) eventually even supplanted all the rest. When the Music School was moved and put into operation by John Wilson, Ellis was host to visiting performers and provided occasions for musicians in Oxford who were no longer students in the colleges to make music together. Wood recorded the Ellis meetings until 1669, although through the 1660s he came to be more an observer than a participant there and at the Music School.

The year 1669 is a suitable place to end the present study, when Anthony Wood suffered his first loss of hearing and his records of attendance at the Ellis meetings ceased. Although Wood noted a few events at the Music School in the 1670s, there appears to be no evidence for the continuation of the Ellis meetings during that time.

Wood's mention of Francis Withy invites some comments on the relationships between members of Wood's musical circle and

the numerous Music School manuscripts held in the Bodleian Library and in Christ Church Library, where some of Edward Lowe's collection was deposited. The payment to Thomas Jackson recorded in John Wilson's receipts for copying "Bookes of 3.4.5. and 6 parts" probably refers to the part-books Mus. Sch. E. 431-6.⁸⁰ The part-books Mus. Sch. E. 410-4 bear the ownership note "Ri: Rhodes ex AEde Christi Oxon Sep 7 1660" and contain some "Lyra consorts" for violin (or treble viol), lyra viol, harpsichord (or lute) and bass, a combination that seems to have been uniquely "connected with the Oxford music meetings of the Commonwealth period."⁸¹ Sylvanus Taylor's "Pavans and Ayres for two Trebles and Bass" exist in his autograph copy as Mus. Sch. E. 429. Thomas Baltzar's music is found, besides elsewhere, in Mus. Sch. D. 241-4, copied by Edward Lowe and Matthew Hutton. The manuscripts copied by Hutton, Anthony Wood's good friend, have attracted study by Pamela Willetts,⁸² Andrew Ashbee,⁸³ and Richard Charteris,⁸⁴ who summarizes the musical tastes of Wood's circle: "Like other manuscripts originating from the Oxford meetings, they reveal that the musicians from this circle had a marked interest in the retrospective repertory of Jacobean and Caroline music in addition to their contemporaries, both English and foreign."⁸⁵ Of particular interest in this regard is the section of Mus. Sch. F. 568-9 (two part-books extant) containing twenty-three four-part fantasias by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, erroneously ascribed to Coprario: a study of the

⁸⁰ Crum, "Early Lists," p. 27. Rastall, "Rogers," p. 241, attempts to match an instrumentation from Wood's 1656 list of players with the consort required for Rogers' music in this manuscript. However, Rastall concedes that Rogers did not go to Oxford until 1664, long after Wilson's payment to Jackson in 1657.

⁸¹ Tim Crawford, "An Unusual Consort Revealed in an Oxford Manuscript," *Chelys* 6 (1975-6): 67, who erroneously described John Wilson as the "first Heather Professor of Music at Oxford" (p. 68).

⁸² Willett's article "Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood . . ." connects manuscripts now in the British Library with Oxford, but does not relate any association with Wood and his friends.

⁸³ Andrew Ashbee, "Correspondence: Lowe, Jenkins and Merro," *Music and Letters* 48 (July 1967): 310-11. This continues the line of investigation by Willetts.

⁸⁴ Richard Charteris, "Matthew Hutton (1638-1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library," *Galpin Society Journal* 28 (April 1975): 2-6.

⁸⁵ Charteris, "Hutton," p. 2.

copyists' hands allows the present suggestion that John Wilson himself collected and copied these Ferrabosco fantasias and that William Ellis was responsible for other sections of these books. Finally, in his study of the Marsh manuscripts at Dublin, Charteris has noted twenty-one different hands that copied a large and retrospective repertoire, "compiled according to a pre-arranged plan for use at Marsh's weekly music meetings which were in progress at Oxford University from 1666 to 1678."⁸⁶

These few observations about the Music School manuscripts and other sources and their possible connections with the musicians in Anthony Wood's circle suggest further avenues of research. Tim Crawford concluded: "Clearly, a thorough study of Oxford musicians and musical manuscripts and their relationship is long overdue."⁸⁷ The present paper provides a contribution in making Wood's writings and John Wilson's payment receipts better known.

⁸⁶ Charteris, "Archbishop Marsh's Library," p. 41 (see above, note 45).

⁸⁷ Crawford, "An Unusual Consort," p. 68.

Rebec in French Literary Sources From 1379-1780

Margaret Anne Downie

The French word *rebec*, designating a stringed musical instrument, was in use at least by the third quarter of the fourteenth century and remains in our vocabulary to this day. This spelling was most probably derived from the Latin *rebeca*, a word which was in use by French scholars at least as early as about 1300 to denote a bowed stringed instrument.¹ Although more than forty directly-related variant spellings and forms are known to have existed in the French language alone,² *rebec* has been the most widely accepted form and its use may be documented in numerous sources. The purpose of this article will be to observe the use of this specific spelling (and its plural forms, *rebecs*, *rebecz*, and *rebecz*) in French literature from about 1379 to 1780, with the ultimate aim of pinpointing the exact sources from which one can learn about the French rebec's morphology, social status, musical qualities, and use.

What may be the earliest documentable reference to the French spelling, *rebec*, dates from about 1379 and appears in an excerpt from *Vrai régime et gouvernement des bergers et bergères* (1379) by one Jean de Brie, an author also known as *le bon berger*.

Les menües cordes des (du mouton) bien lavez, sechez, tors, rez,
essüez et filez, sont pour la melodie des instrumens de musique de

¹ The Abbé Aimery de Peyrac who lived in Moissac, France, wrote the following concerning the *rebeca* in a poem dating from about 1300: "*Quidam rebecam arcuabant/[Quasi] muliebrem vocem confingentes*" (Some bowed the *rebec*/[as if] imitating a woman's voice"). Aimericus de Peyrato Abbas Moisiacensis, in Vita Caroli M. in Cod. MS 1343, Bibl. Regiae, as cited in Domino du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (1678), Reprint edition (Paris: Lepold Favre, 1937), t. I, p. 608, entry "Baudosa," also referred to under entry for "Rebeca," t. VII, p. 35. English translation from Werner Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing*, translated by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 134.

² For an in-depth examination of these French language variants and their appearance in French literature, as well as a study of the orthography of rebec-related terminology in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and German, see Margaret Anne Downie, "The Rebec: An Orthographic and Iconographic Study," Ph.D. Dissertation (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1981). A fifty-two page dictionary of rebec-related terminology is appended to the text.

vielles, de harpes, de rothes, de luthz, de quiternes, de rebecs, de choros, de almaduries, de symphonies, de cytholes et de autres instrumens que l'on fait sonner par doïs et par cordes.³

The small strings of gut (sheep gut) well washed, dried, twisted, tightened, wiped and drawn out, are for the melody of musical instruments such as *vielles*, *harpes*, *rothes*, *luthz*, *quiternes*, *rebecs*, *choros*, *almaduries*, *symphonies*, *cytholes* and other instruments that one makes resound by use of fingers and strings.⁴

Although one can establish from this excerpt that the *rebec* was a stringed instrument, it is not entirely clear whether de Brie refers to a bowed or plucked *rebec*.

The Rebec in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Court Account Books and Chronicles

Among the oldest documentable sources which use the spelling *rebec* and which mention some of its players are several fifteenth-century household account books from the French courts. In December, 1476, payment of 6 *écus* was made to three instrumentalists in the service of the Duchess Yoland of Savoy, including players of the *lehu*, *tambourin*, and *rebec*.⁵ In September, 1479, payment of 2 *florins* was made to each of the musicians who played the *harpe*, the *rebec*, and the *saymie* for the Duke Philibert of Savoy.⁶ On November 5, 1483, during the reign of King Charles VIII, 35 *sols* were paid to "*ung poure ensensé qui jouait du rebec*" (a poor witless man who played the *rebec*).⁷ Seven years later,

³ Friedrich Dick, *Bezeichnungen für Saiten-und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur*, in *Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, Heft 25 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1932), pp. 60 and 77.

⁴ The names of musical instruments mentioned in historic literary excerpts will be kept in their original spelling or nominative form throughout this article. No attempt will be made by this author to assign some presumed or possibly over-simplified modern equivalent to any Medieval or Renaissance technical instrument name. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Dr. Patricia Cummins of West Virginia University in the translation and interpretation of the literary excerpts in this article.

⁵ A. Dufour and R. Rabut, *Les musiciens, la musique, et les instruments de musique in Savoie du XIII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Cambéry: 1878), Reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 114.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁷ Archives Nationales K.K. 73 and 76, "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII," cited in René Bronour, *Histoire des instruments de musique* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1921), p. 7. English translation from Alberto Abraham Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin*, translated by Frederick H. Martens, Albert F. Wier, ed. (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), p. 2.

also during the reign of Charles VIII, three musicians were paid for their service in Grenoble, France.

À Amy Pajon joueur du tabourin, Jehan Rousset, Joueur du haut bois, et Raymonnet de Beauvoisyn, joueur de rebec, 21 l.t. en faveur de ce que ilz ont joué de leurs instrumens a la premiere et nouvelle entrée en la ville de Grenoble.⁸

To Amy Pajon, *tabourin* player, Jehan Rousset, *haut bois* player, and Raymonnet de Beauvoisyn, *rebec* player, 21 l.t. on behalf of the fact that they have played their instruments at the first and new entrance into the city of Grenoble.

Finally, two players of the musette and *rebec* "*estans a Marguerite de Flandres*" (belonging to Marguerite of Flandres), are listed in an account book of 1494.⁹

At least four additional entries in household account books from the sixteenth-century courts mention the *rebec*. In 1514, payment was made for a *rebec* bridge made for the Count of Angoulême.

30 s.t. pour ung chevalet d'argent que mondit seigneur a fait faire pour le rebec d'argent.¹⁰

30 s.t. for a silver bridge that the lord had made for the silver *rebec*.

The musician Lancelot Levasseur is listed at least twice in court account books dating from 1523-1535, during the reign of King Francis I, for payment of his services as *joueur de rebec*

⁸ Archives Nationales K.K. 76, fol. 139, "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII," cited in Victor Gay, *Glossaire archaologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance* (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1928), t. II, p. 290.

⁹ "Registres de la chambre des comptes de Blois," compulsés par de la Borde, t. III, p. 441, cited in Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle* (Brussels: 1867-1888), Reprint edition (New York: Dover, 1969), t. VII, p. 91, fn. 2. Paule Chaillon cites the year of this record as 1495 and the source as: Archives Jourvansault, cited in the research manuscripts of B. Bernhard, preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Doc. 50. See Paule Chaillon, "Les musiciens du nord à la cour de Louis XII," in *La Renaissance dans les provinces du nord*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956), p. 65, fn. 10.

¹⁰ Archives Nationales, K.K. 240, fol. 3v^o, cited in Dick, p. 93.

(*rebec* player).¹¹ Jehan Cavalier, the King's *rebec* player, is listed in an account book dating from 1559.¹²

Account book entries such as these help place the *rebec* and its players at specific locations at specific times, and as a result one can at least reflect upon the instrument's popularity and use in the French court.

Jean Marot (1465-1526) accompanied the army of King Louis XII of France to Genoa in 1507 and to Venice in 1509, and Marot's "verse descriptions of these [trips] include a lively account of the adventurers who joined the army in hope of plunder."¹³ Marot lists some of the instruments which he presumably encountered on one of these trips, in verse 172 of his *Voyage de Venise* (1509). He mentions *rebecz* along with other instruments such as *busines*, *chalemines*, *clerons*, *doulcines*, *orguines*, *trompes*, *tabours*, and *lucz*.¹⁴

In his memoirs, *Recueil d'aucuns discours*, published posthumously in 1665, author Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme (ca. 1540-1614) includes a section known as the *Vie des dames galantes* in which he includes a chronicle of French court life in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the sub-section, *Dames, reyne d'Escosse*, he describes the return of Queen Mary to Scotland from France in 1560. Upon her arrival at Holyrood House, she is said to have been serenaded by poorly played *viollons* and small *rebecz*.¹⁵

Estant logée en bas en l'Abbaye de l'Islebourg, vindrent soubz sa fenestre cinq ou six cens marauts de la ville, luy donner l'aubade de meschans viollons et petits rebecz, dont il n'y en faute en ce pays-là et se mirent à chanter pseumes, tant mal

¹¹ "Les comptes de l'argenterie du Roy Charles VIII," Archives Nationales, 1523-35, cited in Alberto Bachmann, p. 2. See also Archives Nationales J960, No. 74, cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

¹² Alberto Bachmann, p. 2.

¹³ Joyce M. H. Reid, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of French Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 390.

¹⁴ Friedrich Brücker, *Die Blasinstrumente in altfranzösischen Literatur*, in *Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, Heft 19 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1926), p. 73.

¹⁵ Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 63.

accordez, que rien plus. He! quelle musique, et quel repos pour sa nuit!¹⁶

After she had been settled in the lower story of the Abbey of Isleburgh, there appeared under her window about five or six hundred low fellows [rogues] of the town to give her a serenade, with miserable *viollons* and small *rebecz*, of which there is no lack in that country; and they began to sing psalms, so badly executed, and so wretchedly in harmony, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a rest for that night!¹⁷

The Rebec in Fifteenth- to Eighteenth-Century French Poetry and Fiction

The spelling *rebec*, and its plural forms, may be found in a number of French poetic and fictional sources as early as the mid-fifteenth century. Some of the excerpts which follow describe the instrument in very general terms, some merely mention it without description; nevertheless, each source in its own way provides a glimpse of the author's perception of the *rebec* and its socio-historical significance.

In *Les satires chrétiennes*, written during the second half of the fifteenth century, a minstrel's *rebec* is mentioned.

A tel ménestrier, tel rebec;
Tenant toujours le verre au bec.¹⁸

for such a minstrel, such a *rebec*;
Always keeping the glass to his mouth.

Guillaume Coquillart (ca. 1421-1490), on the other hand, mentions the beggars' *rebec* in his poem *Monologue du puits*.

Ou estes-vous chantz de linottes,
De chardonneretz ou serins,
Qui chantés de si plaisans notes
Soubz les treilles de ses jardins?

¹⁶ Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, Ludovic Lalanne, ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1864-1882), Vol. VII, p. 419, cited in Edmond Eugène Auguste Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925-1967), Vol. VI, p. 367.

¹⁷ Carl Engel, *Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1883), p. 93.

¹⁸ Cited in Georges Kastner, *Les danses des morts* (Paris: Brandus, 1852), p. 249.

Ou estes-vous les tabourins,
Les doulcines et les rebecz [rebecz],
Que nous avions tous les matins
Entre nous aultres mignonnetz?¹⁹

Where are you songs of sparrows,
Of goldfinches or canaries,
Who sing such pleasant notes
Under the trellises of these gardens?
Where are you, *tabourins*,
Doulcines, and *rebecz* [rebecz],
That we used to have every morning
Amongst us beggars?

In another mid- to late fifteenth-century account, *rebecs*, along with numerous other instruments, are mentioned in the Burgundian allegory, *Le naufrage de la pucelle* (The Shipwreck of the Maiden) by Jean Molinet (1435-1507).

Ces seraines doncques fringans et gentes pretendant livrer la pucelle es gueules des bellues et endormir ses domesticques au son de leurs musettes jouerent une chanson composée de tant de melodieuses consonantes et proportions amesurées, que les subtiles cantillenes, les artificielles messes at armonieux motez de olrghen ne de busnois n'y porroient sortir comparaison . . . Les seraines recommencèrent nouvelle modulation à haulte voix clere, douce at ague tant joyeuse que si toutes les harpes, orgues, vielles, psalterions, lucz, naquaires, doulceniers, eschequiers, cimballes, simphonies, coros, challemies, doulchaines, thimpanes, rebecz, sonnettes, tabourins, flustes, guisternes, trompes, clarons, bedons, sambuques, tibies, tintinables, monocordes et decacordes tant de cordons que de cordes estoient ensemble accordez, si ne pourroient ilz causer iubilacion plus plaisant en accentuant leur solemnelles canticques . . . ²⁰

Then these radiant and graceful sirens, attempting to deliver the maiden to the mouths of the monsters and to make her servants fall asleep with the sound of their *musettes*, played a song composed of so many melodious consonances and so many unmeasured proportions, that subtle cantilenae, artfully-composed masses and harmonious motets by residents of Olrghen or of Busnois could not

¹⁹ The spelling *rebecz* in this quotation is cited in Laurent Grillet, *Les ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle* (Paris: Librairie Générale des Arts Décoratifs, 1901), p. 134. *Rebecz* is cited by Dick, p. 95.

²⁰ Michel Brenet, "Quelques passages concernant la musique dans les poésies de Jehan Molinet," *Revue de musicologie* 1, No. 2 (1917): 24.

constitute a comparison . . . The sirens again began a new modulation in a loud voice, clear, sweet and sharp [and] as joyous as if all *harpes, orgues, vielles, psalterions, lucz, naquaires, doulceniers, eschequiers, cimballes, simphonies, coros, challemies, doulchaines, thimpanes, rebecz, sonnettes, tabourins, flustes, guisternes, trompes, clarons, bedons, sambuques, tibies, tintinables, monocordes* and *decacordes*, both cords and strings, were playing together in tune; they could not cause a more pleasant jubilation in playing their solemn songs.

Clément Marot (1495?-1544), son of Jean Marot, lists the *rebec* among a group of wind instruments in one of his *Ballades* (ca. 1515-1544):

Prenons chascun panetiere et bissac,
Fluste, flageol, cornemuse et rebec.²¹

Let us each take a breadsack and a double-bag,
A *fluste*, *flageol*, *cornemuse*, and a *rebec*.

Rebecz are included in an instrument list found in a sixteenth-century French translation of *De vita Caesarum* by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (ca. 69 A.D.-140 A.D.).

[Caligula] avecques grand bruict de trompettes, rebecz at escabeaulx saulta et dança en chantant.²²

[Caligula], with great sound of *trompettes, rebecz*, and *escabeaulx*, leaped and danced while singing.

Translator Guillaume Michel has chosen to impose upon Suetonius's classical writing the names of musical instruments which were contemporary in Michel's own lifetime, a common practice for writers (and artists) of this period. Obviously one can not conclude that *rebecz* existed in Caligula's lifetime (Caligula was Emperor of Rome from 37-41 A.D.); such an assumption would be ludicrous in view of the fact that evidence suggests that bowing was not developed in Europe until about the eleventh

²¹ Clément Marot, *Oeuvres complètes*, Pierre Jannet, ed. (Paris: E. Picard, 1868), cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

²² Tranquille Suetone, *Des faictz et gestes des douze Caesars*, trans. by Guillaume Michel (Paris: Nouvellement imprimet, 1541), IV, 160v^o, cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

century.²³ One might justifiably conclude, however, that *rebecz* were used in Michel's lifetime (during the sixteenth century) to accompany dancing and singing.

The French poet Jean-Antoine de Baif (1532-1589) specifically mentions a beautiful *rebec* in one of his *Eglogues*, written during the mid to late sixteenth century.

Je te donne un beau rebec que j'ay, de si belle façon
Que tu ne me diras ingrat de ta chanson.²⁴

I am giving you a beautiful *rebec* which I have, such
that you will not say I am ungrateful for your song.

Georges Kastner, in his *Les danses des morts* (1852), cites a rather cryptic verse from an undated (perhaps sixteenth century?) *vaudeville* in which the *rebec* is mentioned:

De ce ménestrel dans l'angoisse,
Comme elle brise le rebec!
Comme à ce chantre de paroisse,
Sans mot dire elle clôt le bec.²⁵

How she breaks the *rebec*
Of this minstrel in anguish!
How she closes the mouth of this parish cantor
Without saying a word.

The *rebec* has been mentioned in literature as an instrument used to accompany narrative songs. One such French excerpt is found in *Le premier livre des bergeries de Julliette* by Nicolas de Montreux (Paris: 1585).

Fortunio...empoigna son rebec sur lequel il chanta les vers qui
suyvent.²⁶

²³ Werner Bachmann, pp. 58ff.

²⁴ Jean-Antoine de Baif, *Œuvres en rime de Ian Antoine de Baif*, Ch. Marty-Laveaux, ed. (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1881-1890), Vol. III, p. 20, cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

²⁵ "La nouvelle danse macabre, vaudeville dédié aux petits maitres et aux femmelettes qui ne peuvent souffrir qu'on parle de mort dans une ode anacréontique," in *l'Epicurien française ou les diners du caveau moderne* 10 (October 1814), p. 53, air entitled "En revenant de Bale en Suisse," cited in Kastner, pp. 24-25, fn. 2.

²⁶ Nicolas de Montreux, *Le premier livre des bergeries du Julliette* (Paris: Gilles Beys, 1585), "Journ." I, 19^o.

Fortunio...picked up his *rebec* upon which [to the accompaniment of which] he sang the following lines.

The Muses are invoked in several sixteenth and seventeenth-century excerpts in which reference is made to the *rebec*. The earliest among these is found in *La Saulsaye, eglogue de la vie solitaire* (1547) by the French poet Maurice Scève (1501?-1564?).

Il fait les Rocz respondre à ses chansons,
Ayant tousjours fluste, ou musette au bec,
Qu'il ayme plus, que harpe, ne rebec.
Mousches à miel luy causent doux sommeil.²⁷

He makes the rocks respond to his songs,
Always having in his mouth *fluste* or *musette*,
Which he likes better than *harpe* or *rebec*.
Flies of honey cause him sweet sleep.

Satirist Mathurin Régnier (1573-1613) specifically mentions the strings of a *rebec* in two passages from his works. The first is from *Louanges de Macette* (ca. 1603-1608):

La Muse autour de vostre bouche,
Volant ainsi comme une mouche,
De miel vous embrène le bec:
Et vos paroles nompareilles,
Résonnent doux à nos oreilles,
Comme les cordes d'un rebec.²⁸

The Muse around your mouth
Flying like a fly,
Fills your mouth with honey:
And your words beyond compare
Resound softly in our ears,
Like the strings of a *rebec*.

²⁷ Maurice Scève, *Saulsaye. Eglogue, de la vie solitaire* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547), p. 31, cited in Maurice Scève, *Œuvres poétiques complètes de Maurice Scève: Délie, La Saulsaye, Le Microcosme, Arion, et Poésies diverses*, Bertrand Guégan, ed. (Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1927), p. 330.

²⁸ Adolphe Hatzfeld and Arsène Darmesteter, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 8th ed. (Paris: Librairie delagrave, 1926), Vol. II, p. 1881.

The second Régnier passage is from *Satyre X* (ca. 1610):

O Muse, je t'invoque:
emmielle moy le bec,
Et bande de tes mains les
nerfs de ton rebec.²⁹

Oh Muse, I call upon you:
put honey in my mouth,
And strum with your hands
the strings [literally, sinews] of your *rebec*.

Reference is again made to the nerfs (sinews; strings) of the *rebec* by the French poet, Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas (1544-1590):

Bref rien plus ne résonne . . .
Que les nerfs du rebec, le vent de la musette,
Des cimbales le fer, l'airain de l'espinnette.³⁰

In short nothing more resounds . . .
But the strings [literally, sinews] of the *rebec*, the wind of the
musette,
The iron of the *cimbales*, the brass of the *espinnette*.

Several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century allusions to the sound of the *rebec* provide contrasting information. Guillaume Coquillart mentions the *rebec* in a curious proverb in *Le blason des armes et des dames* (ca. 1470):

Qui s'endort au son du rebec
En la flotte, il n'est pas sage.³¹

Whosoever goes to sleep to the sound of the *rebec*
In a crowd [the rain?] is not wise.

Clément Marot alludes to the *dur rebec*, or harsh-sounding

²⁹ Mathurin Régnier, *Oeuvres de Régnier avec des remarques* (London: Lyon and Woodman, 1730), p. 150.

³⁰ G. de Salluste, Seigneur Du Bartas, *Les Oeuvres poetiques*, Simon Goulart de Senlisien, ed. (Paris: 1601-1614), cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

³¹ Frédéric Eugène Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1889; Reprint, New York: Kraus Reprints, 1961), Vol. X, p. 493.

rebec, in a "Dance of Death" scene from *Mort a tout humain* (ca. 1515-1544):

Las, or est-il à sa dernière dance
Ou toy la mort, lui a fait sans soulas
Faire faux pas, et mortelle cadence,
Sous dur rebec, sonnans le grand hélas.³²

Alas, now is he at his last dance
Where you, Death, without solace made him
Take a wrong step, and [in] deadly timing,
With a harsh *rebec* sounding the final alas.

In an undated source which may well have been written in the sixteenth century, the character of the *rebec's* sound is expressed as *enroué* or hoarse, husky, wheezing:

Du son de la musette,
Du rebec enroué de vachers.³³

From the sound of the *musette*,
From the hoarse *rebec* of the cow-herds.

In sharp contrast, reference is made, during the same period, to *les doux accords*, or sweet harmonious sounds of the *rebec*, in *Deploration poetique de feu M. Antoine du Prat* (1545):

Par grand douleur la belle Thalia
Les doux accords du rebec oblia.³⁴

Through great suffering beautiful Thalia forgot
The sweet harmonious sounds of the *rebec*.

Satirist François Rabelais (1494-1553) made at least three references to the *rebec* in his writings. The first, an excerpt from

³² Clément Marot, *Oeuvres*, La Haye, ed. (1700), t. II, *Complaintes*, cited in Kastner, p. 23, fn. 3. A fifteenth-century anonymous woodcut depicting a *rebec* in a *danse macabre* scene may be found reprinted in Hortense Panum, *The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1939; Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), fig. 296.

³³ Belleforière, *Secr. de l'agric.*, p. 342, cited in Godefroy, Vol. X, p. 493.

³⁴ François Habert d'Issoudun en Berry, ed., *Deploration poetique de feu M. Antoine du Prat* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545), cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

Le Tiers livre, Chapter XLVI, "Comment Pantagruel et Panurge divesement interpretent les parolles de Triboulet" (1546), deals with the problems of marital fidelity.

Plus me plaist, dit il, le son de la rustique cornemuse
que le fredonnemens de lucz, rebecz et violons auliques.³⁵

I like better, said he, the sound of the rustic *cornemuse*,
than the hummings of courtly *luc*s, *rebec*z, and courtly *violons*.

In an interpretation of this musical metaphor, Nan Cooke Carpenter explains that previous to this quotation:

Triboulet the Fool warns Panurge against marriage with a bagpipe metaphor signifying cuckoldry . . . he describes Panurge's future wife in terms of the windy and raucous instrument.³⁶

Concerning the *rebec*z passage, Carpenter offers the following interpretation:

Panurge happily interprets Triboulet's prediction to mean that he will marry a village maiden, using the cornemuse to denote simple rusticity as opposed to the sophistication of the courtly life represented by the more complex stringed instruments demanding skilled performers—probably with erotic implications in both parts of the comparison.³⁷

Rabelais's other two references provide some insight into the morphology of the sixteenth-century French *rebec*. In *Le Quart Livre*, Chapter XXXI "Anatomie de Quaresmeprenant quant aux parties externes" (1552), Rabelais writes:

Les paulpieres, comme un rebec.³⁸

The eyelids [eyes], like a *rebec*.

Rabelais's third reference also compares a feature of the

³⁵ François Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, Abel Lefranc, et al, eds. (Paris: H. & H. Champion, 1912-1931), t. B, p. 325, cited in Dick, p. 87.

³⁶ Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Rabelais and Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁸ François Rabelais, *Oeuvres complètes*, Jean Plattard, ed. (Paris: Editions Fernand Roches, 1929), Vol. IV, p. 125. See also Anatole Félix le Double, *Rabelais: Anatomiste et physiologiste* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), p. 419.

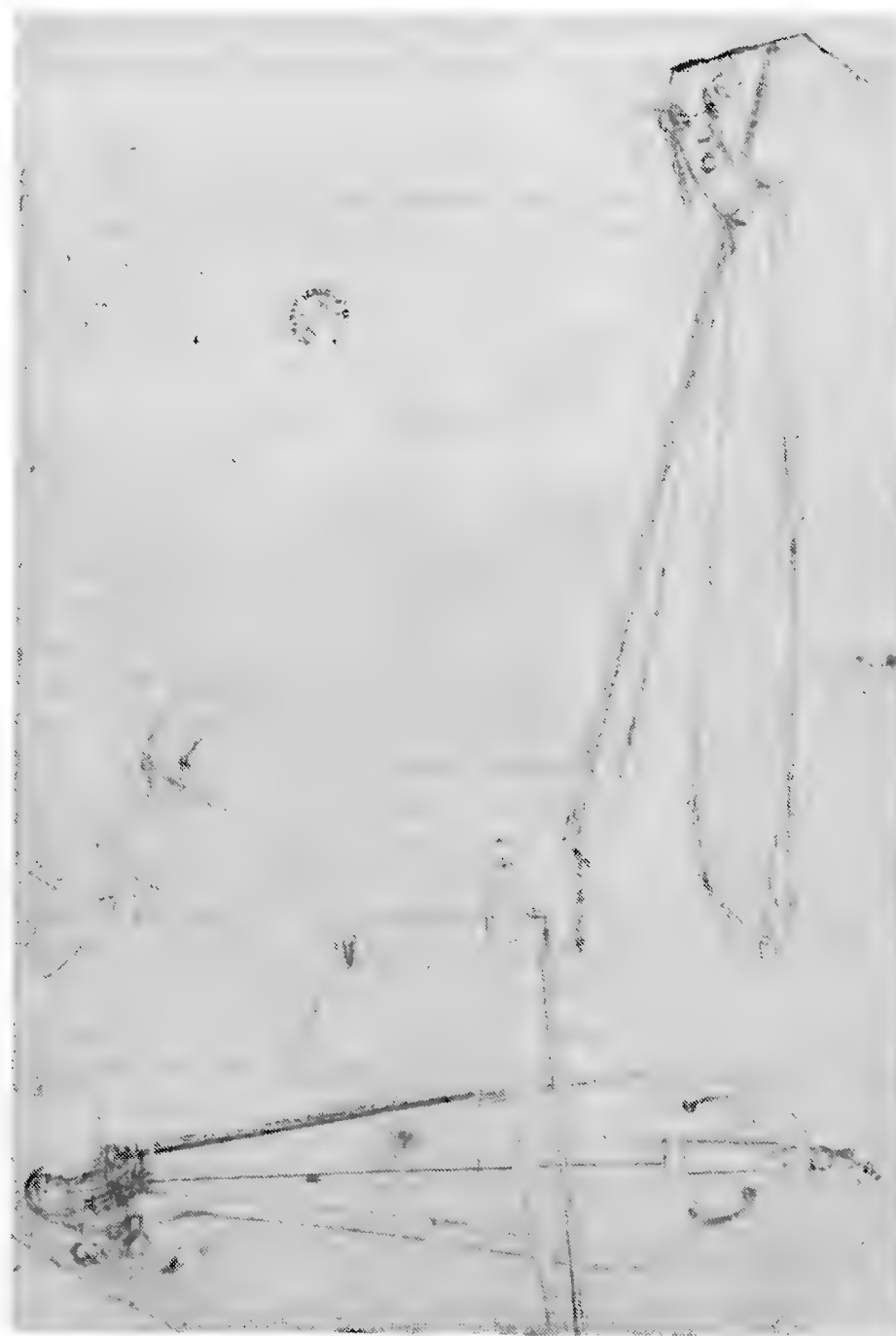


PLATE I—Hans Holbein, the Elder, sketch of a rebec and a rooster, 1513, Basel, Switzerland, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, No. 1662.202.

human anatomy to a *rebec*. The excerpt comes from *Pantagruel*, Chapter III, "Du deuil que mena Gargantua de la mort de sa femme Badebec" (ca. 1546).

Elle en mourut, la noble Badebec
Du mal d'enfant, que tant me semblait nice,
Car elle avoit visaige de rebec,
Corps d'Espagnol et ventre de Souice.³⁹

She died, the noble Badebec,
While in labor, which seemed foolish to me:
For she had the face of a *rebec*,
The body of a Spaniard, and the belly of a Swiss.

In an attempt to understand this analogy, one might consider Randle Cotgrave's definition of the expression *visage de bec* in his *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: 1611) as "a sneakbill, sharp-nose chittiface."⁴⁰ In modern terms, a sneakebill would denote a mean fellow or a starved or thin-faced person, and chitty-face, a "term of reproach meaning thin-face, pinched face, and later, baby-face."⁴¹ Carl Engel suggests that reference is made by Rabelais's expression to the "grotesque embellishment" which "ornamented the *rebec* . . . at its upper termination."⁴² The occasional use of such human, animal, or grotesque figures carved at the upper end of the *rebec's* pegbox may be verified by contemporary iconographic evidence, such as the 1513 sketch of a *rebec* by Hans Holbein, in Plate I.⁴³

Two additional sources, dating from the early seventeenth century, further compare the morphology of the *rebec* with human

³⁹ Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, Lefranc, ed., t. III, p. 41, cited in Dick, p. 95.

⁴⁰ Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: 1611), cited in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Vol. IX, p. 314.

⁴¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 362 and Vol. IX, p. 313.

⁴² Engel, pp. 90-91, cites several similar allusions to the carvings found on English citterns and gitterns.

⁴³ Hans Holbein, the Elder (1465-1524), sketch of a *rebec* and a rooster (1513), Basel, Switzerland, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, No. 1662.202. Reproduced in Brigitte Geiser, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Violine*, in Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II, Vol. 25 (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1974), pl. 36.

anatomy. Satirist Mathurin Régnier writes in his *Satyre XIX* (ca. 1608):

Me rendre, en me torchant le bec,
Le ventre creux comme un rebec.⁴⁴
To throw up, while wiping my mouth,
My belly hollow as a *rebec*.

In this instance, the hollow interior of a stringed instrument with a convex back is brought to mind. In his *La Comédie des proverbes* (1616), Adrien de Montluc, Comte de Cramail (1589-1646), offers the following satirical description of Florinde's betrothed, Captain Fier-a-Bras:

Pour la mine, il l'a telle quelle, et surtout il est délicat et blond
comme un pruneau relavé; et pour la bourse il ne l'a pas trop bien
ferrée; de ce côté-la il est sec comme rebec, et plus plat qu'une
punaise.⁴⁵

As to his face, it is ordinary; and above all he is as refined [delicate] and blond as a twice-washed prune; and as to his cod-piece [or purse], it is none too well equipped [garnished], in that respect he is as thin [dry or withered] as a *rebec* and flatter than a bed-worm.

The sexual implications are obvious. Pierre Larousse suggests that the expression *see comme rebec* means "*fort maigre*" or extremely thin, poor, barren.⁴⁶ It is possible that this expression refers not to the *rebec* per se, but actually to its progeny, the *pochette* (*pochette*), a slender and diminutive descendant of the *rebec* which was popular at the time that Montluc wrote this scene. Nicolas de Larmessin II's engraving, "Habit de Musicien" (ca. 1700), pictures a *pochette* in a similar, sexually-satirical fashion.⁴⁷

Symbolic of the decline of the *rebec's* popularity, and of its

⁴⁴ Régnier, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Cited in M. Edward Fournier, ed., *Le Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Laplace, Sanchez, 1871), p. 205.

⁴⁶ Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel français* (Paris: Ad-mindu grand dictionnaire universel, 1865-[1890]), Vol. XIII, p. 760.

⁴⁷ Rudolf and Uta Hekning, *Zeugnisse alter Musik* (Herrsching/Ammersee: Manfred Pawlak, 1975), pl. 13.

ultimate demise, the French poet Philippe Desportes (1546-1606) portrays the following scene in a late sixteenth-century source:

Mon chalumeau n'est plus dans ces bois entendu,
Et mon triste rebec est demeuré pendu
A ceste branche morte.⁴⁸

My *chalumeau* is no longer heard in these woods,
And my sad *rebec* is left hung
On this dead branch.

In a similarly symbolic scene from a French play entitled *Industrie* (1730) one can clearly see that the French *rebec* had essentially faded into obscurity before the middle of the eighteenth century.

PIERROT à l'ANTIQUITE (d'un ton de vielle).
Ici que venez-vous faire?
Dictes, ma bonne grand'mère,
N'y venez-vous point, pour plaire, Chercher l'eau de Beauté?
L'ANTIQUITE (montrant le palais),
Air: Griselidis.

Demoisel, quoi qu'on die,
Mon manoir est illec,
Ou l'on oit mélodie
De luth et de Rebec.

Las! mon doux Fils,
Ce tems-ci ne vaut mie
Celui de Pétion des Amadis!⁴⁹

Pierrot says to Antiquity (accompanied on a vielle):
What have you come here to do?
Pray tell, my good grandmother,
Have you not come to seek the water of Beauty in order to be
pleasing [in appearance]?
Antiquity (pointing to the Palace):
Air: Griselidis.
Young man, notwithstanding what one says,
My dwelling is over there,

⁴⁸ Cited in Jean Baptiste la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage français ou glossaire de la langue française depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV* (Niort: Léopold Favre, 1875-1882), Vol. IX, p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Industrie*, Scene III, the prologue of Zemire et Almanzor, cited in Grillet, p. 149, fn. 1, who cites *Le theatre de la foire ou l'opera comique*, (no date cited), t. VIII.

Where one hears tunes on
The *luth* and the *rebec*,
Alas! my gentle son,
This time is not worth
That of *Pétion des Amadis*!

The Rebec in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century French Legal Ordinances

The decline in the *rebec's* social standing may clearly be seen in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century laws which sought to regulate the use of the instrument. On March 27, 1628, the Civil Lieutenant of Paris pronounced an edict which literally placed the *rebec* in a secondary relationship with the violin family.

Faisant défense à tous musiciens de jouer dans les cabarets et mauvais lieux des dessus, basses ou autres parties de violon, ains suelement du rebec.⁵⁰

Forbidding all musicians to play, in ale-houses and irreputable places, the descant, bass, or other members of the *violon* family, rather only the *rebec*.

This ordinance was to be enforced "under penalty of a prison sentence, a fine of twenty-four *livres*, and destruction of their instruments."⁵¹ The *rebec's coup de grace* was issued a short time later, in 1741, by an ordinance of Guignon, the "*roi des violons*" in France. Guignon effectively stifled any remaining use of the *rebec* for all but the lowest classes of society, and after this date one finds little further substantive written commentary reflective of experiences emanating from the historic rebec-playing era.

Comme il seroit également impossible et opposé aux projects de la communauté, pour la perfection des arts qui en font l'objet, d'y comprendre un certain nombre de gens sans capacité, dont les talents sont bornés à l'amusement du peuple dans les rues et dans les

⁵⁰ Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres A, Vol. IV, p. 543, cited in Grillet, p. 148.

⁵¹ E. Thoinan [Antoine Ernest Roquet], *Louis Constantin, roi des violons 1624-1657* (Paris: J. Baur, 1878), p. 9, cited in David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 137, fn.17. A tavern scene with a *rebec* player is depicted in a contemporary painting from the school of David Teniers I (Antwerp 1582-1649), Antwerp, Belgium, de Meester Collection. Reproduced in Richard D. Lepert, *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, in *Musik und Musiker im Bild I* (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, 1977), Vol. II, plate LXIX, p. 287.

guinguettes, il leur sera permis d'y jouer d'une espèce d'instrument à trois cordes seulement, et connu sous le nom de rebec, sans qu'ils puissent se servir d'un violon à quatre cordes sous quelque prétexte que ce soit.⁵²

Since it would be at once impossible and opposed to the plans of the community, for the perfection of the arts which are the objectives of those plans, to include among those in the plans a certain number of persons lacking ability, whose talents are restricted to the amusement of the people in the streets and the public-houses [taverns], these last [persons] are to be allowed to play only a kind of instrument with three strings, which goes under the name of *rebec*; but they are not to use, under any pretext whatever, the *violon* with four strings.

The Rebec in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century Musical Treatises and Dictionaries

In addition to its appearance in court account books, chronicles, literary sources, and legal ordinances, the spelling *rebec* is commonly found in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century French musical treatises and dictionaries. From these sources one can learn a little about the morphology and use of the *rebec*, although it should be remembered that they transmit information for the most part reflective of the final years of the rebec-playing era. Both John Palsgrave's *L'éclaircissement de la langue françoise* (1530) and later Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* (1611) simply define the *rebec* as an instrument of music.⁵³ An anonymous method for the lute and guitar, *Discours non plus melancoliques que divers de choses* (1557), presents a hierarchy of several musical instruments including the *rebec*. The lute and guitar are regarded as instruments for musicians, whereas:

Ainsi demeure encore la vielle pour les aveugles,
le rebec et viole pour les ménétiers.⁵⁴

Thus the *vielle* still remains for the blind,
the *rebec* and *viole* for the fiddlers.

⁵² Cited in Alberto Bachmann, p. 4.

⁵³ John Palsgrave, *L'éclaircissement de la langue française par Jean Palsgrave* (Paris: 1530), in Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Deuxième série: Histoire des lettres et des sciences (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852), Vol. LXXII, p. 261. See also Thurston Dart, "Music and Musical Instruments in Cotgrave's *Dictionnaire* (1611)," *Galpin Society Journal* 21 (March 1968): 73.

⁵⁴ Dora Rittmeyer-Iselin, "Das Rebec. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Streichinstrumente," *Festschrift für Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag* (Zurich: Kommissions Verlag Gebrüder Hug, 1933), p. 218.

Both Claude de Sainleins (1593) and the dictionary compiler Nicot (1606) pass on a piece of confusing information which first appears in a French-to-English glossary compiled by L. Harrison in 1570. In all of these sources, the word *rebec* is translated *vyoll*, although in all probability the instrument names are meant in a generic sense.

l'Archet d'un rebec, ou autres tels instruments,
the bowe of a *vyoll*, or such like instrument.⁵⁵

Adriano Iunio (Hadrianus Junius) further confuses the issue by equating the French word *rebec* with the *pandura* in his *Nomenclator* (1577).

Pandura: Musicum instrumentum trichordon, triplicibus fidibus
tensum. A. Fidel, B. Veele, Veelken, G. Rebec, rebecquin, It. Re-
becchino.⁵⁶

Pandura: Three-stringed musical instrument, with three gut strings.
German, *Fidel*; B. (Flemish?) *Veele, veelken*; French, *Rebec, re-
becquin*; Italian, *Rebecchino*.

In his *Discours, et histoire des spectres* (1605), Pierre Le Loyer defines the *rebec* as an instrument of four strings, purportedly played amongst the Chaldeans (an ancient Semitic people; Chaldean is synonymous with Babylonian), although such use is undoubtedly more fanciful than real.⁵⁷

Johann Komensky's *Porta linguarum* (1633) lists the *rebec* along with several other stringed instruments.

⁵⁵ Claude de Sainleins, *A Dictionnaire French and English* (London: T. Woodcock, 1593). Nicot's entry varies somewhat: "l'Archet d'un rebec, ou autre instrument, Plectrum, pectem." See Normand L. Rioux, "Towards a Consolidation of Terms of Music and Musical Instruments Found in Renaissance Dictionaries 1480-1611," *Comparison* 6 (1977): 73-97.

⁵⁶ Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator, Omnium Rerum Propria Nomina Variis Linguis Explicata Indicans* (Antwerp: Christophori Platini, 1577), cited in Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637.

⁵⁷ Pierre Le Loyer, *Discours, et histoires des spectres* (Paris: N. Buon, 1605), Vol. VIII, 3, cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367. Le Loyer's remarks are transmitted and reinterpreted in part by Pierre Trichet, *Traité des instruments de musique* (1640), François Lesure, ed. (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de musique d'autrefois, 1957), but do not appear to be repeated in succeeding major reference sources.

Un orgue est composé de flageolets, floutes, tuyeaux, ou fistulés; La harpe, le luth, la lyre ou le rebec, la sambuque & la pandure se touchent ou frappent, ou font sonner avec des cordes.⁵⁸

An *orgue* is composed of *flageolets*, *floutes*, *tuyeaux* or *fistulés*; the *harpe*, the *luth*, the *lyre* or the *rebec*, the *sambuque* with the *pandure* one touches or strikes [with a bow?], or sounds with strings.

Perhaps the most specific and reliable information available concerning the *rebec* comes from two French musical treatises: Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1635) and Pierre Trichet's *Le traité des instruments de musique* (1640), which is patterned after Mersenne's work. Both treatises state that the *rebec* was no longer used in the seventeenth century, although it is evident from the need for governmental ordinances during the 1640s that some rebec-playing persisted, even among professional musicians. Nevertheless, Mersenne writes the following in his treatise:

Le rebec à trois cordes qui sont accordées de quinte en quinte comme celles du violon; on n'en use plus.⁵⁹

The *rebec*, with three strings which are tuned in fifths as are those of the *violon*, is no longer used.

Trichet's description is perhaps the most detailed one available, although many specific morphological details are not discussed, such as the construction of the pegbox, the bridge, the sound-post, tailpiece, decorative carvings, and so on.

Le rebec est différent du violon et ressemble presque à la poche, ayant le corps tout d'une venue sans aucun vuider des costés par le retranchement d'un demi cercle. Le nom rebec est dérivé du mot *Rebiag*, qui entre les Chaldéens signifie un instrument à quatre cordes, d'où les Italiens ont prins leur *Ribeba*, comme tesmoigne Pierre Loyer (1. 8 *des Spect.*, c.3); néantmoins le rebec n'a ordinairement que trois cordes, lesquelles l'on a accoustumé de tenir grandement tendues et de les accorder de quinte en quinte, de

⁵⁸ Johann Amos Komensky (Johann Amos Comenius), *Porta Linguarum* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1633), Chapter LXXVII, "De Musica," pp. 172-173, No. 775.

⁵⁹ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636-37), cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290. See also Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments* (1635), translated by Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), I, 2, fol. 99v.

mesme que celle du violon. Depuis que l'on a inventé le violon, l'usage du rebec n'a pas esté continué, ayant perdu sa vogue et son premier crédit par l'introduction de l'autre. Ceux qui s'en servent encore, font construire ordinairement tout le corps d'ébène, et veulent que la table de dessus soit de sapin: ce qui s'observe aussi en la fabrique de la plupart des instruments à cordes.⁶⁰

The *rebec* is different from the *violon* and almost looks like the *poche*, having a body all in one line without any indentation on the sides cut out in the fashion of a semi-circle. The name *rebec* is derived from the word *Rebiag*, which among the Chaldéens denotes an instrument with four strings, from which the Italians have taken their *Ribeba*, according to evidence presented by Pierre Loyer (1. 8 *des Spect.*, c.3); nevertheless, the *rebec* usually has only three strings, which one customarily keeps very taut and tunes in fifths, the same as those of the *violon*. Since the invention of the *violon*, the *rebec* has not been kept in use, having lost its vogue and its former esteem when the [violin] was introduced. Those who still use them usually have the body constructed out of maple, and want the upper table to be made of fir: this is also observed in the manufacture of most stringed instruments.

Gilles Ménage was the author of the first dictionary specifically dedicated to the science of etymology, published in 1650, and this source, "in spite of many errors [became] a basis for future similar dictionaries."⁶¹ Despite his lengthy attempt to trace the etymology of the French spelling, *rebec*, Ménage simply defines the word *rebec* as an "*instrument de musique*."⁶²

Two later dictionaries, from 1690 and 1694 respectively, define the word *rebec* as follows:

[*Rebec*] violon à trois cordes accordées de quinte en quinte.⁶³

[*Rebec*] Three-stringed *violon* tuned in fifths.

Rebec — jouer du rebec.⁶⁴

Rebec — to play the *rebec*.

⁶⁰ Cited in François Lesure, "Le traité des instruments de musique de Pierre Trichet: des instruments de musique à cordes," *Annales musicologiques* 4 (1956): 229.

⁶¹ Sir Paul Harvey and J. E. Heseltine, eds., *The Oxford Companion to French Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 204.

⁶² Gilles Ménage, *Dictionnaire étymologique, ou origines de la langue française* (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1650; rev. ed. 1694), t. I, p. 617 and t. II, p. 388.

⁶³ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye & Rotterdam: A. & R. Leers, 1690), cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

⁶⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, 1st ed. (1694), cited in J. Dubois and R. Lagane, *Dictionnaire de la langue française classique*, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris: Librairie classique Eugène Belin, 1960), p. 411.

Finally, in Jean Benjamin de la Borde's *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (1780), the *rebec* is mentioned as being obsolete and, although it had existed long before the violin, it is now referred to and remembered only by comparison with its successor.

[Rebec.] Instrument dont on ne se sert plus, et qui ressemblait au Violon. Il n'avait que trois cordes, et on se servait d'un petit archet pour en tirer du son. Ce mot peut venir du Celtique ou bas-Breton, *reber*, qui signifie un Violon.⁶⁵

[Rebec.] An instrument which is no longer in use, and which resembles a *violon*. It had only three strings, and a small bow was used to produce the sound. The word may perhaps come from the Celtic or low-Breton, *reber*, which means a *violon*.

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Idiomatic Uses of Rebec

Two idiomatic expressions using the spelling *rebec* appear in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources: *joueur de rebec* and *jouer du rebec*. Usually used to designate a *rebec* player, the expression *joueur de rebec* may have denoted a clever or skillful person in Noël du Fail's *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* (1585).

Il est bon joueur de rebec.⁶⁶

Literally: he is a good *rebec* player.

Figuratively: he is a clever (skillful) person.⁶⁷

At some point during the sixteenth century, the similar expression, *jouer du rebec*, which one would normally expect to translate "to play the *rebec*," took on a new, idiomatic meaning, an accurate translation of which is somewhat elusive. According to Edmond Huguet's *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*

⁶⁵ Jean Benjamin de la Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: P. D. Pierres, 1780), t. I, p. 304.

⁶⁶ Noël du Fail, *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* (1585), cited in Georges Kastner, *Parémiologie musicale de la langue française, ou explication des proverbes, locutions proverbiales, mots figurés, qui tirent leur origine de la musique* (Paris: G. Brandus and S. Dufour, 1866), p. 398.

⁶⁷ Kastner, *Parémiologie*, p. 398. In Hector France, *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (Paris: Librairie du Progrès, 1926), p. 187, the phrase *jouer du violon*, for example, means to "saw the chains," as a prisoner might saw off the chains which bind him. This may be derived from the back-and-forth bowing process.

(1925-1967), this expression was a play on words and took on the meanings *regimber*, *riposter*, *resister*; in English, to resist, to be refractory, to make a smart reply, to retort, or to offer opposition.⁶⁸ Such an understanding of the meaning of *rebec* undoubtedly relates to the fifteenth- through seventeenth-century use of the reflexive verb *se rebecquer*, which has the connotation of resisting, of being obstinately opposed to something. In fact, in 1611, Randle Cotgrave actually defines *Iouër du rebec* as *se rebecquer*.⁶⁹ But it is also possible, in at least two of the excerpts which follow, to discern a sexually-oriented double-entendre, which would not be unexpected in literature of this era. From the anonymous *Sermon joyeux de la patience des femmes obstinées contre leur maris* (fifteenth or sixteenth century), one finds:

Ilz sont toutes frappées d'ung coing,
Et si font toutes bon groing,
Bonne teste, bon oeil, bon bec,
Et [si] jouent volontiers du rebec.⁷⁰

They are all struck from the same stamp,
And they all display a good mouth [literally, snout],
A good head, a good eye, and good lips,
and they willingly, play the *rebec* [resist?]

The French humanist Henri Estienne (1528-1598) wrote, in his *Apologie pour Hérodote* (1566):

Il dit que le bon temps viendra quand les femmes feront tout ce que leurs maris voudront, sans aucunement jouer du rebec.⁷¹

He says that the time will come when women will do all that their husbands want, without playing on the *rebec* [resisting] at all.

Finally, Jean Calvin (1509-1564) writes, in *Advertissement contre l'astrologie qu'on appelle judiciaire* (1549):

Ie say bien qu'ilz ne faudront point à jouer du rebec et dire que l'un n'empesche point l'autre.⁷²

⁶⁸ Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367 and Denis Girard, *The New Cassell's French Dictionary* (New York; Funk and Wagnalls, 1971), pp. 629, 655, and 645.

⁶⁹ Cotgrave, p. XXX. See Dart, p. 73.

⁷⁰ Cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

⁷¹ Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, P. Ristelhuber, ed. (Paris: I. Liseux, 1879), Vol. II, p. 360, cited in Huguet, Vol. VI, p. 367.

⁷² Joannis Calvini, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, Eduardus Reuss, eds., in *Corpus reformationum* (Brunsvigae: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863-1900), Vol. VII, col. 540.



PLATE II—Maître de Morrison, Virgin and Child with angel musicians, ca. 1480-1500, Brussels, Belgium, Musées de Beaux-Arts, 1157.



PLATE III—David Gerard, Virgin and Child with angel musicians, ca. 1500-1525, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. G1958.15.

I know well that they will not fail to play the *rebec* [resist] and to say that one does not rule out the other.⁷³

Although the derivation, the literal or sociological connection with the instrument itself, and the accurate meaning of the idiom, *jouer du rebec*, may remain a mystery to modern readers, one need only be reminded that we commonly use some strikingly similar idiomatic expressions in modern English, such as "to play second fiddle."

Conclusions:

The Morphology of the Rebec

One can summarize the morphological characteristics of the French *rebec*, which are alluded to in the French literary sources discussed, as follows: 1) the *rebec* was a bowed stringed instrument; 2) the *rebec* was built in different sizes; 3) *rebecs* had three gut strings which were taut and these strings were tuned in fifths, although no specific pitches are given in the sources; 4) the *rebec* was played with a small bow; 5) the *rebec* was different in shape than the violin, but similar to the *poche* (*pochette*), having no waist cut out of the sides for bowing; therefore, the *rebec* might have been boat-shaped, as can be seen in Plate II,⁷⁴ or piriform, as in Plate III;⁷⁵ in the latter respect, it may have had a shape similar to the *pandurina* (*pandura*) or *mandora*; 6) the *rebec*, at least late in its life-span, had a body made of maple, with a belly made of fir; 7) the *rebec* had a hollow interior; 8) the back of the *rebec* was probably convex in shape; 9) some *rebecs* may have had human, animal, or grotesque figures carved at the top of the pegbox; and 10) some *rebecs* were apparently quite beautiful; one unique *rebec* mentioned in an early sixteenth-century source was made of silver.

⁷³ According to translator Patricia Cummins, the context of the passage in which is found this excerpt is: "Those who fear God and try to do His will, will not have time to dance. Those who dance also will not fail 'to play the *rebec*,' for doing one does not preclude the other..."

⁷⁴ Maître de Morrisson, Virgin and Child with angel musicians, ca. 1480-1500, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux de Beaux-Arts, 1157.

⁷⁵ David Gerard, Virgin and Child with angel musicians, ca. 1500-1525, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. G1958.15.

The Social Status, Musical Qualities and Use of the Rebec

The *rebec* was, at various times during its history, used by all classes of people. According to the French literary sources examined, players of the *rebec* have included "poor witless men," beggars, rogues, lords and ladies of the court, and a number of paid musicians in service to the Duchess Yoland of Savoy (1476), the Duke Philibert of Savoy (1479), Marguerite of Flanders (1494), and the Kings Charles VIII, René II, Antoine, and Francis I of France. Among the paid French *rebec* players specifically mentioned in these sources are Raymonnet de Beauvoysin (1490), Lancelot Levasseur (between 1532 and 1535), and Jehan Cavalier (1559). Court chroniclers Jean Marot (Court of King Louis XII, in 1509) and Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme (Court of Queen Mary of Scotland, in 1560) record the appearance and use of *rebecs* in both Italy and Scotland, during royal trips to those countries.

Although the spelling *rebec* was frequently used in French literary sources at least from about 1379 to 1780, musical treatises by Mersenne and Trichet report that the *rebec*, as a viable musical instrument, was essentially obsolete by the third decade of the seventeenth century. However, the appearance of several legal ordinances dating from between 1628 and 1741, which forbade the use of the *rebec* by professional musicians and which relegated its use to taverns and other places of "ill-repute," suggests that some form of the instrument or its progeny, the *poche*, lingered on in use well into the eighteenth century.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the *rebec* was regarded by some as secondary to the lute and guitar, but of higher status than the *vielle*. Perhaps due to its shape or for some other unknown reason, the *rebec*, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became the object of and vehicle for sexual and anatomical satire, as for example, in the writings of Rabelais, Régnier, and Montluc.

From the information obtained in the French literary sources available for study, it seems that the French *rebec* was regarded primarily as a melody instrument. It was used to accompany both singing and dancing. In addition, the *rebec* may have been used to accompany the recitation or singing of poetry, including love

laments. The *rebec's* sound has been variously described as harsh, hoarse, soft, sweet, and harmonious. In relationship to other instruments, the *rebec* is often mentioned along with a wide variety of contemporary types. However, based upon these French literary sources, one can not draw any substantive conclusions concerning the use of the *rebec* with any specific instruments or combinations thereof.

Ganassi's Regola ^R~~R~~ubertina (Conclusion)

by *Silvestro Ganassi*

Translated by *Richard D. Bodig*

COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLATION

In doing this translation from a copy of the original folio, I have tried to keep as closely as possible to Ganassi's own words, in order to ensure that the integrity of the work would be maintained. Ganassi's syntax, grammar and spelling are somewhat casual and his style redundant by today's literary standards. Although I have had to straighten out the syntax and grammar, I have chosen not to tamper with his style, which is repetitive. Although Ganassi is often very specific in his instruction, he is also quite vague at times, and the reader is left with the task of interpreting what he had in mind. There are also some obvious errors, but I have left them uncorrected.

—Richard D. Bodig

[This concludes the translation of the *Regola Rubertina*, the first part of which was published in volume 18 of this Journal.—Ed.]

SECOND LESSON

Second lesson on the practice of playing the fretted viola d'arco, written by Silvestro Ganassi Dal Fontego, who wishes to show through illustration the properties of strings which are false, true or borderline; to show a practical method for positioning frets; also how to tune this viol properly and in different ways, and methods for those who play a viol without frets, with a new lute tablature, many with fingerings; very useful secrets on the skill of playing these instruments: also the method of playing the viol while singing: useful works which you will be delighted to play.

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS NERI CAPON.
YOUR SERVANT SILVESTRO GANASSI DAL FONTEGO
CONVEYS HIS SALUTATIONS

Of the many things which are offered to our blessed Lord from mortals, those which are the most acceptable to His great Majesty, are those that are simple and unembellished, as though from Mother Nature, rather than those which may be masterfully wrought by hand but which lack the softness and subtlety of nature. Likewise, sensitive and respected intellects often find greater pleasure in hearing the song of a free bird in the woods, than the sounds of thousands of captive birds in handsomely gilt cages. Thus, God and all divine spirits are gratified by the simpler things in life.

Having already finished my third opus on the subject of techniques necessary to achieve perfection on the viol and on the lute, but also seeing in it all kinds of crude and unembellished portions, I pondered about the right person to whom I should dedicate it, and about the person who might accept the work spontaneously and with joy. Although there were many people who came to mind, it was you above all the rest, honorable Mr. Neri, who appeared to be in this respect so similar to God, inasmuch as you are in the forefront of all the magistrates and are truthfully the only person who esteems natural beauty above something that is contrived. For this reason, I decided that you were the worthy individual to whom I should dedicate the humble and rather unstructured fruits of my labor. If there should be no merit in this work, at least it may remind you of the person whom you thought worthy enough to be your teacher, and whom you were willing to immortalize, as well as to bestow eternal fame and reputation through your name.

Aside from your being a Parnassus, a Helicon and a haven among all virtuosi, I did not believe that this work would receive greater acceptance with anyone but you. If this work is acceptable on the basis of your acute judgment and if it is immortally glorified by that sacred and divine collegium which like you is domiciled in this esteemed city, no other appraisals of the work are necessary. For the head of the collegium is Mr. Adrian, who cannot be praised too highly. He is a new Prometheus of heavenly harmony; he puts the past to shame, bestows glory on the present and is master of what is yet to come. Without doubt, everyone will be pleased to accept his judgment of whatever may be praiseworthy.

If you have any justifiable complaint about my work, I do hope I am the first to be told, rather than that it be publicly discussed in the city squares. But let us leave it at this, kind sir, that you accept this work with the same enthusiasm and receptive frame of mind with which I offer it to you. If it does not merit praise because you derive no enjoyment from it, at least let it not be condemned, for I have wished only to create something enjoyable and useful. I would hope that that is what you will find herein. I appeal as always, to your good grace.

TO MY READERS

I have considered, most worthy readers, the words of a sage who said that of all the studies he had undertaken, he had learned nothing for sure except that he still was lacking in knowledge. Another sage, at the end of his life, said that he did not regret death, but was sad that it was only at that time that he had understood what was cause and what was effect. In my case, I have presumed that all of my writings have been, are and will be understood by you noble and considerate readers, as will be the discourse which is to follow. I found in the holy scriptures that our Lord God let it be known to Noah, before the flood, that our life span according to His will should be one hundred twenty years. That would not be enough time to become a master on the subject, but perhaps a student. Nevertheless, I am confident that you will not expect to see such masterful traits in me as though you were to see a cinder in my eye. I can say truthfully that in my fifty-one years, I haven't spent more than, say, five years of study altogether. You know as well as I the many kinds of impediments that stand in one's way

in these times. First of all, we do need sleep. It is natural in the tender and fragile years of infancy and of old age and the energetic years of youth, when various illnesses can occur before reaching maturity. Then in the adult years there are beautiful and fine things in the world which bring enjoyment to the body. But there are many other things that could be mentioned; I mean misfortune, which could happen to one's parents or friends, or the conflict of reason against one's inclination. There are many heavenly principles which are for our own good but which we may stray away from. There are so many obstacles which one could mention but let us leave the subject in this way: If we have reached life's end, we should know that, as students, we still would have much to learn, as a philosopher once said. One can change circumstances but not such basic principles. If the great philosophers, who discovered intellectual principles, acknowledged that they themselves were students as well as teachers, it is logical that we also should acknowledge that we have things to learn even up to the time of death. Therefore, it may be somewhat presumptuous to assume that this book conveys wisdom. I feel compelled, nevertheless, to present this work although there are many who might find both virtue and fault with it. One should be silent, out of modesty, on aspects of science that are still unknown. Yet each new work draws from and adds to previous works.

In order to expiate my guilt of incompleteness, I expect to pull together in this new work of mine all of my capabilities for you to use in advancing your knowledge. In asking for your indulgence, I quote from a parable: If a person, in his own good will, grants a favor to another, then the recipient should receive the favor with the same good will. Thus in accepting this work, my readers would forgive me for any transgression. I would find solace in such forgiveness particularly if, in this work, or in my already published book, I might have made some errors in my instructions. Farewell!

PROLOGUE

You were already taught, in the *Regola Rubertina*, in the section dealing with beauty and quality of music, about tuning the viol by itself and in consort in three different ways. In the first, the tenor and alto viols are tuned a fourth over the bass, and the treble a fifth over the tenor, which is an octave over the bass. The second

tuning is the one in which the tenor and alto viols are tuned a fifth higher than the bass and the treble remains an octave over the bass, putting it a fourth over the tenor and alto. The third tuning is the one in which the tenor and alto are a fourth over the bass and the treble is also a fourth over the tenor and alto, putting it a seventh over the bass. Then you were shown the way to play a fourth higher than in the first tuning; the manner of playing on the fingerboard first by means of *canti fermi*, then with *ricercari* as examples.

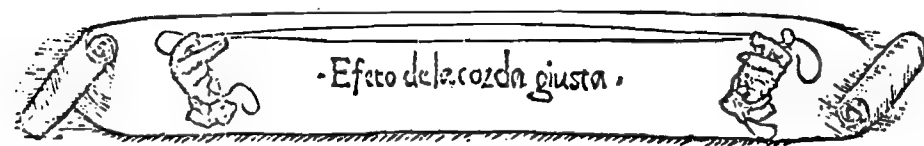
I did promise also to show how to play these instruments if there are only five, four or even three strings; I do want to keep that promise. I also promised, however, to discuss at greater length than I did in the *Rubertina* the recognition of strings which are true, false or borderline; this will come first. Second, I shall teach you how to position the frets with a compass and the application of proportions. Third, I shall give you some *ricercari* employing consonances. Fourth, I shall give you other *ricercari* for solo voice or instrument in a number of examples which will show you how to work on the fingerboard and to achieve good results with little difficulty. Fifth, I shall discuss tuning viols so that you can play any composition and can adjust to the human voice, using the numbers of strings discussed earlier. Sixth, I shall give some madrigals composed for two instruments and one vocal part. Seventh, I shall give some madrigals to play with the lute in a very useful new tablature. Eighth, I shall discuss some hints which should prove useful in many circumstances. First, however, I shall discuss, in the first chapter, principles governing the recognition of a good string.

Chapter I

ON THE RECOGNITION OF A GOOD STRING

Please note, noble reader, that a false string is intolerable and the opposite of what one should normally expect; this is the same as saying that two opposing statements on the same subject can't be reconciled. Also, strings of equal quality will not work well if the frets have not been set correctly with a compass and without the help of your ear to ensure that the strings are indeed true. So that you will recognize the effects of true and false strings, I shall set forth the following procedure.

First, take the string and stretch it a bit so that its curliness disappears. Then after you have stretched it a little, hold it with two fingers, that is the thumb and index fingers. The part which is to be secured to the peg is held slack. Then pull it little by little to the end, where it is to be attached at the end of the fingerboard. In testing, begin with half the distance and pluck the string with the middle finger from the part which is to be tied to the tailpiece. If the string is true, it will produce an effect while vibrating like two curved sticks, with a clear space between them. This is the proper effect of a good string. It is important that you understand that if you try to tune a false string, you will never be able to tune it as well as if the string were true and properly tuned. Also if the fret is not set in its proper position, you will not be able to play in tune either. This is true even if the strings are good for as I said at the beginning of the chapter, two opposites in a given statement cannot be reconciled with each other, especially in this case. I can't emphasize this point too much. But so that you will know that I have your interest at heart, I ask that you exercise every diligence in this and other matters. Now I shall give you an illustrative example of the effect of a good string and the method of holding it, as I described above.



(Effect of a good string)

Chapter II

METHOD FOR RECOGNIZING A BAD STRING

Note that if you wish to detect a bad string, you should use the same technique of holding and plucking the string as was explained and demonstrated above. If the string is bad, it will produce an effect opposite to that of a good string, which is recognized by the impression of two distinct sticks in a stable position, while the string is vibrating, with a clear space between the sticks. With a bad string the effect is that of a shadow or of several sticks, which are unstable and tremble like a cripple. Such an image of several sticks signifies instability, rather than stability as with a good string. Furthermore, the instability is perceived in the sound. Whereas a

good string looks like two distinct sticks, a bad one looks somewhat like a cloud or like a bunch of lines trembling like the cripple I spoke about. It also looks a bit like a worn whip, made out of branches, as sketched in the example.

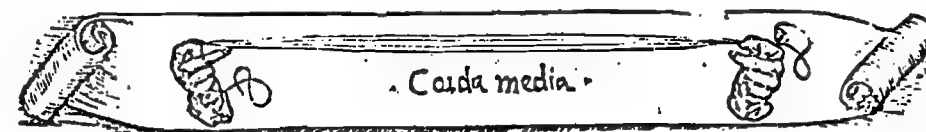
(Effect of a bad string)

Chapter III

RECOGNITION OF THE EFFECT OF A BORDERLINE STRING

Just as you know that there can be no extremes without a middle, it also follows that some strings are neither completely good nor bad, but simply average or borderline and which can be detected as such. I believe that it is extremely important to recognize such strings. Of course if one were determined to have perfect strings, say on a lute, it would be a very costly undertaking, since one probably would need many strings and perhaps still not find any that were absolutely true; this would create problems in achieving balanced stringing for the whole instrument. I have experienced this often enough in my own case.

Because of my experience, I have become convinced of the importance of recognizing an average string, which produces a specific effect as does a good string. Just as we said that a good string produced the effect, in vibration, of two distinct, separated and stable sticks, the average or borderline string produces the effect of more than two lines or sticks, but with clear separation and stability from one end of the string to the other. Hence, it is neither completely true, because of the multiple lines, nor completely false because the lines have clear separation and stability. This is shown below in the proven manner.



(Effect of a Borderline String)

Chapter IV

SYSTEM OF SETTING FRETS

Please note that the proportion *sesquioctava* produces pitches expressed by these two numbers, 9:8. This proportion determines

the location of the second fret. If you divide the string, beginning from the nut on the fingerboard and ending at the bridge, where the bow is drawn, into nine parts, the first of the nine parts sets the boundary of the second fret. Leaving aside the question about the thickness of the fret, you should expect to hear the same pitches in playing a note on a fret as with a corresponding open string. I advise you, therefore, that if you use the frets in the way I shall show you, that you do not neglect, in fingering on the frets, to satisfy your ear, which is the final judge of harmony and consonances. Moreover, it is in the nature of music, whether one plays an organ or a harpsichord, or a stringed instrument, that you may need to tune some lower or higher than the natural pitch of the instrument. Likewise, you can't expect the instrument to be in proper regulation, as long as you are wary of moving the fret from its position, in the manner in which I will teach you, relying on proportions and other means of adjustment of frets up and down, according to the requirements of your ear. I could provide a lengthy discourse on the reasons behind the necessary adjustments, resulting from differences between major and minor semi-tones and other factors. It is not relevant to go into such a discourse in this lesson, since I will simply proceed with a description of the method of setting frets. Also, apart from theory, there is something to be said for brevity; according to the proverb, it is the short speech which gets to penetrate the heavens.

The procedure which I have established is based on my practical experience with the viol. Since many of the best viols made by various craftsmen are quite different from each other, they all require different adjustments more or less, in positioning the frets. As I said before, there are times when, because of defective workmanship in shaping the fingerboard in the portion where one sets the frets, it turns out to be too narrow, or perhaps that the arch or curvature does not correspond to that of the bridge. You must then compensate for the problem. As the saying goes, if nature is found lacking in something, then art must come to its assistance.

Now I shall proceed with the subject matter I started out to discuss. After you have positioned the second fret in the manner described above, the first fret should be set half way between the major and minor semi-tones by their respective proportions. In order not to go into this at length, however, I believe that I have

chosen a similar method for finding the first fret, which produces a minor semi-tone, quite easily. The location of the third fret is the same distance as from the first to the second fret.

Then, you divide the string into four parts; the first of these four parts will set the location of the fifth fret, which produces the consonance of a fourth, which is created by the proportion of *sesquitertia* indicated by the ratio 4:3. Thus, if the string length is divided into four parts; the fret is secured at the end of the first part. This produces the consonance of a perfect fourth, because if one then plays the open string, which is at the end of the fourth part of the string length, one achieves the opposite of the 4:3 ratio. The fourth fret should be exactly in the middle of the third and fifth frets.

Then you divide the string length into three parts. The first of the three parts will be the end of the seventh fret, thereby producing the consonance of a perfect fifth, or *diapente*, which is formed with the proportion of *sesquialtera* indicated by the ratio of 3:2. Then the sixth fret is set at the midpoint of the space between the fifth and seventh frets but somewhat less, that is so that the thickness of the fret is within the compass of the distance; that will set its position. The eighth fret will be located so as to have the same spacing as from the fifth to the sixth frets.

Now if one wished to form an octave, or *diapason*, as though one were to set a fret, the string length should be divided in half; that point would form the consonance of an octave in a double proportion, indicated by the ratios 2:1 or 4:2: for other ratios the higher number is twice that of the lower one.

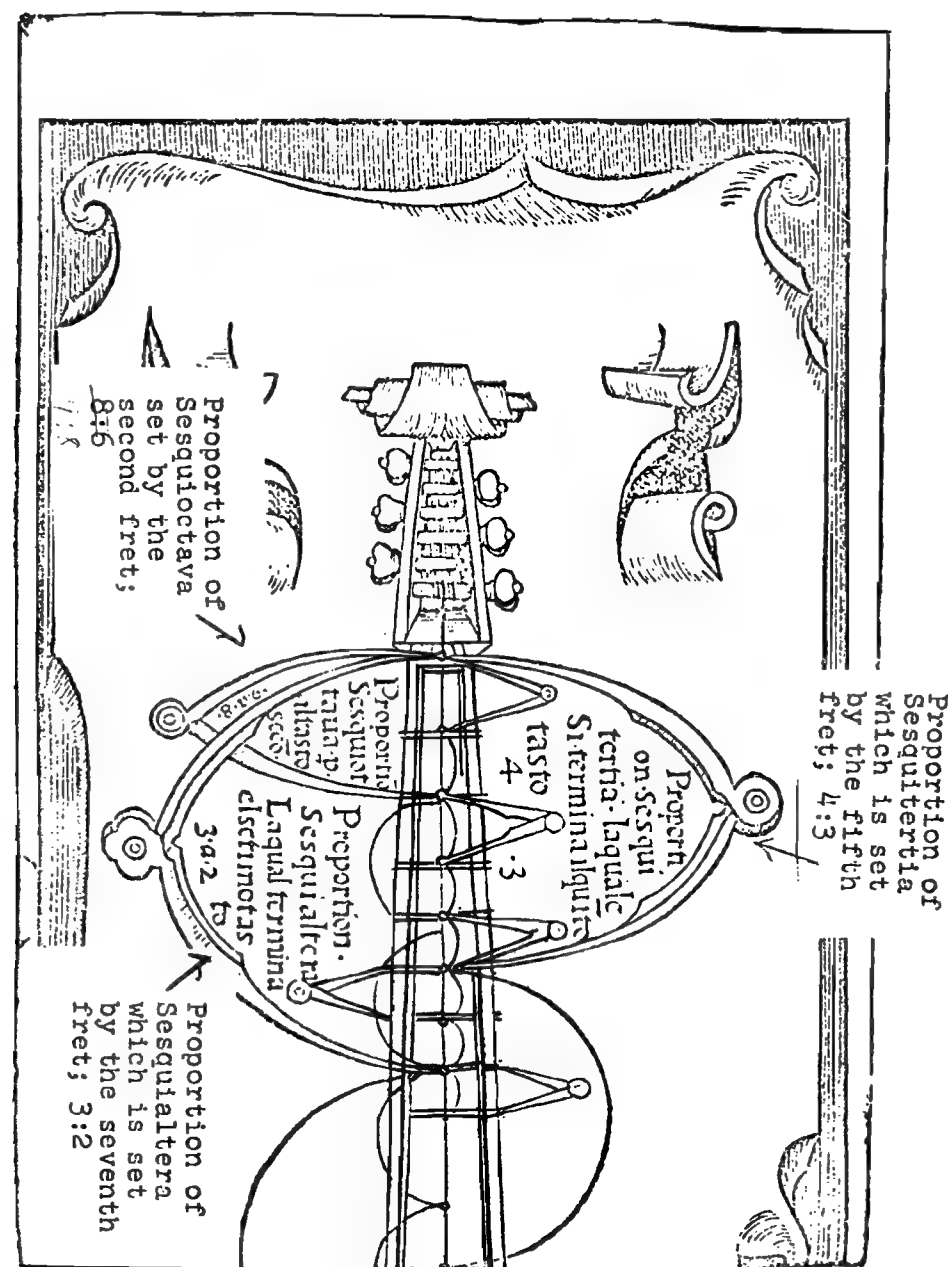
One could also describe other positions for frets if required and even half positions between the other frets. However, since the viol is normally used with seven or eight frets as with the lute, I did not want to describe positions for more than eight frets. As I said earlier, you must measure off the positions for the frets according to the procedure given above. When you have tuned the strings one by one, you will adjust the frets by moving them more or less, backward or forward, from the positions set by the compass, until your ear is satisfied, as I have said several times. In this connection, just as the eye has an important role in judging visible things,

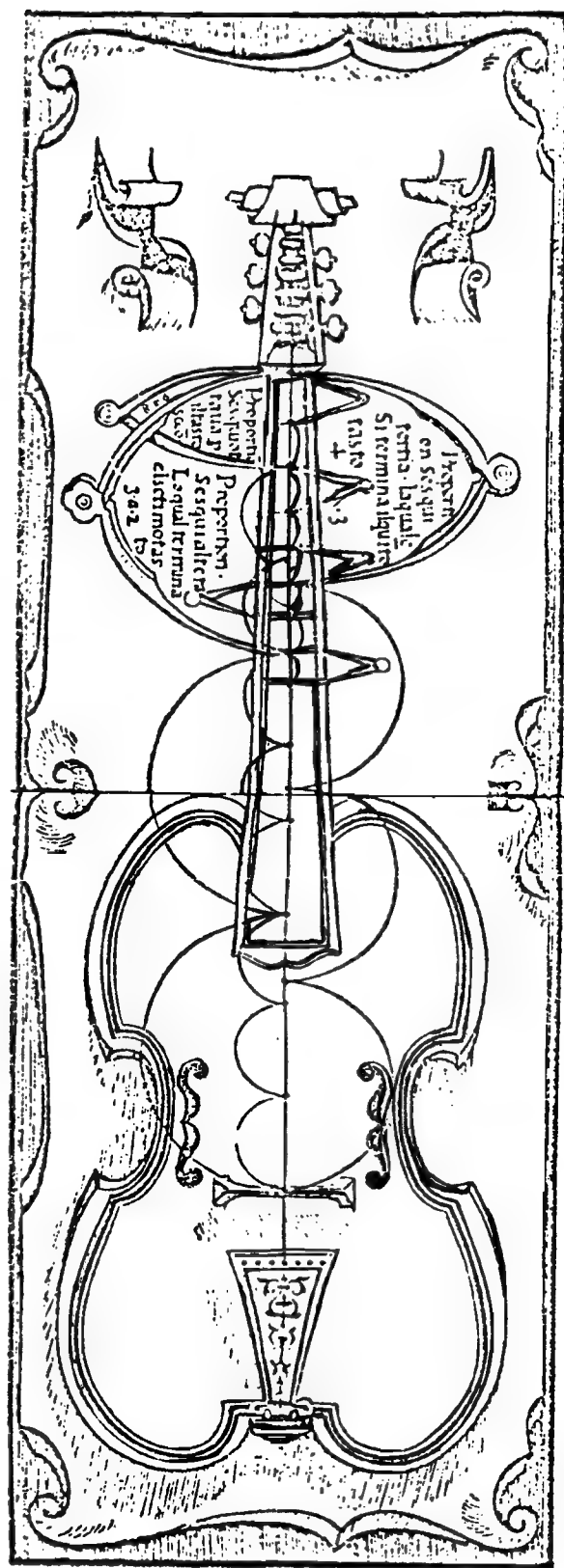
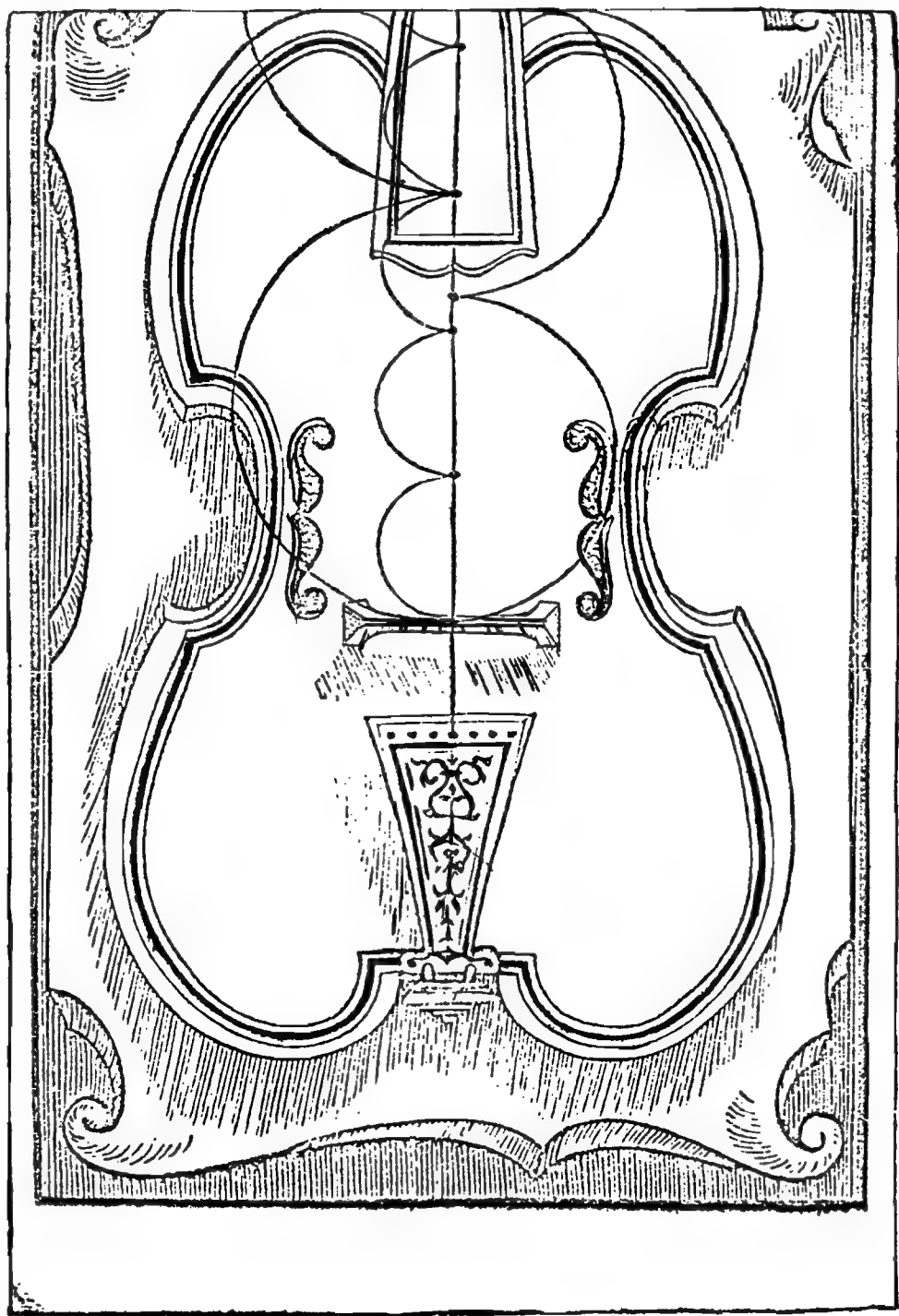
no matter how well they are made, so the ear has its role in judging the acceptability of consonances, no matter how carefully they have been set according to the principles of proportions. This is borne out in the context of some of the problems that were discussed earlier.

So that you will understand my point more easily and more thoroughly, however, I shall give you the procedure by illustration, which will depict the positions of the eight frets of the viol with the corresponding compass settings. It will show the same procedure to be followed as has been already given in words. Within the compass spans are given the proportions in words, together with the corresponding numerical ratios. The same procedure is to be repeated with the other compass ranges to locate the positions of the frets, as you will see in the illustration. I should point out, however, that the large compass spans are there to show how to form the principal consonances and are given with the correct proportions, such as the *sesquioctava* which is the pitch corresponding to the second fret. The proportion of *sesquitertia* forms the consonance of a fourth, which is positioned in the fifth fret. The proportion of *sesquialtera* forms the consonance of the *diapente* or fifth, which is positioned at the seventh fret.

These are the principal proportions to be used in regulating this instrument. Indeed I might have said by means of a rule, that you would find the position of the proportion of *sesquiquinta* at the third fret, which forms the consonance of the *semiditonus*, that is the minor third. I could have given you also the position of the fourth fret in the proportion of *sesquiquarta* which forms the consonance of the *ditonus* or the major third. Since the nature of the instrument and other factors persuade me against setting fret positions beyond those given in these rules, I have left matters stay as they are and have said only what I set out to say.

Note that the small compass ranges are given to show how the fret is moved outside of the larger compass ranges and also how to adjust them within their thicknesses and in the middle of their thicknesses, and I have fixed black dots right in the middle. But you can see how they are set within and outside of the frets, as I said earlier in words and as is repeated in the following illustration.





METHOD OF ADJUSTING THE FRETS

I have just completed a discussion on the adjustment of frets in the correct manner; in this chapter, however, I shall continue the discussion in a somewhat different way. First, after you have strung the viol with good strings and have tuned them one by one on the open strings in the manner given in the Rubertina and after you have put on the frets in the manner given in the last chapter, you should test the intonation of the first string on the fifth fret. This should produce the consonance of a fourth over the open string, as was explained in the last chapter in words and in illustration, which shows the fifth fret as the position for the proportion of *sesquitertia*. I should point out, however, that you must first be certain that the open strings are perfectly in tune. I don't speak of the first string, because it is understood to be in tune and to be the string which provides the reference pitch for the other strings. In this connection, I should say that the first string should not be tuned to a pitch so low that the viol will not sound properly in tune. Nor should it be tuned so high that the thinner strings could not be brought up to pitch, as was discussed fully in the Rubertina.

You will need to verify the tuning of the open second string in the following way. You already know that the open second string is tuned a fourth higher than the first string. Hence, you should try to adjust the fifth fret of the first string. The proper adjustment of this fret is the right way to verify the tuning of the open second string. This is so since the first string at the fifth fret will have the same pitch as the open second string. This procedure will ensure excellent tuning, since any procedure followed in a logical way and with practicality will be more successful than one followed only with practicality or only in a logical fashion, especially in this case. Another way of putting this is to say that any logical procedure is more reliable when it is based upon much authority than one which is not. Therefore it is essential that you adjust the fret with the practical use of your hearing, the judgment of which will bring about excellent tuning of consonances. This is because of the combined effect of sound reasoning and practice — reasoning through the means of a compass and practice, through the judgment of one's ear. If we wanted to fix the position of the fifth fret with the open string — and I mean the open second string and the fifth fret of

the first string — we would not be able to achieve correct tuning without the combination of skill and practice. The reason is that the open string is tuned solely by practice, which is the judgment of the ear, and this is why I tell you about it here. Therefore, you will have set and adjusted the fifth fret properly so that you are assured that the open second string is in tune, only after you have adjusted and readjusted the fret back and forth until your ear is completely satisfied, and that is the point at which the fifth fret of the first string is in exact unison with the open second string, as I said earlier.

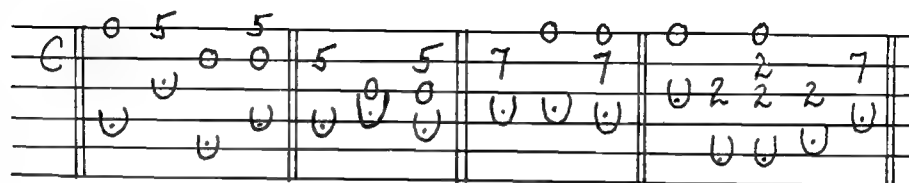
Just as it is easy to test the unison for accuracy, so is it a fact that the octave is easier to tune than any other consonance. It is for this reason that I wanted to discuss the procedure for doing this first, as an easy introduction to the basic regulation of the instrument. After having adjusted the fifth fret as a means of testing and regulating the tuning of the open second string, you will go to the seventh fret of this string, which makes the consonance of a fifth, formed from the proportion of *sesquialtera*. Again, you will use your ear to test the octave of the open first string with the seventh fret of the second string. Then you may have to move the fret more or less according to the judgment of your ear. I should point out that it is important to bow both strings and with the same stroke and pressure. In this way you will develop a procedure in which you can have confidence, using the judgment of your ear and sound reasoning in regulating the instrument. After adjusting the seventh fret, you should test the fifth fret of the second string against the open third string, which should have the same pitch. Having adjusted the pitch of the open third string in this way, you will need to test the second fret of the third string against the open first string, which is an octave lower. Again you will have to adjust the fret according to the requirements of your ear. You can also check the fret, aside from testing against the open first string, against the seventh fret of the second string, which also should be in unison with it.

Up to this point we have tuned, in a systematic way, the open second and third strings, as well as adjusted the second, fifth and seventh frets. We shall now proceed with the tuning of the fourth, fifth and sixth strings in the manner described above.

I would like to amplify the above procedure, however, with

an illustration, because lengthy discussions have the effect of creating a barrier to one's memory. Hence stopping the discussion at this point will help you to remember more accurately and will permit you to gain a better and easier understanding of the following illustration, which conforms with the foregoing discussion. I needn't go into the explanation of tablature, which will be used in the following illustration, since it was already discussed in the Rubertina. Here is the example.

Example



Chapter VI

METHOD OF TUNING THE FOURTH, FIFTH AND SIXTH STRINGS AND THE FRETS

In the last chapter you were given instruction on adjusting the second, fifth and seventh frets and on tuning of the open second and third strings by means of the fifth fret of the first string through the open second string, and the fifth fret of the second string through the open third string. We shall proceed with the method of adjusting the fourth fret. Then we shall discuss all the rest according to the prescribed method.

In adjusting the fourth fret, you should check the tuning of the second fret of the first string against the fourth fret of the third string, which should be an octave apart. This is the proper procedure for adjusting the fourth fret more or less until the ear is satisfied. When you have adjusted the fourth fret, that fret will provide the means for testing whether the open fourth string is in tune, since the fourth fret of the third string should be in unison with the open fourth string. Having tuned the open fourth string and having adjusted the fourth fret, you should then check the fifth fret of the third string. Its pitch will provide the means of regulating the first fret of the fourth string, since it should be in tune with it, that is, in unison with it. After you have adjusted the first fret of the fourth string, it should be an octave over the third fret

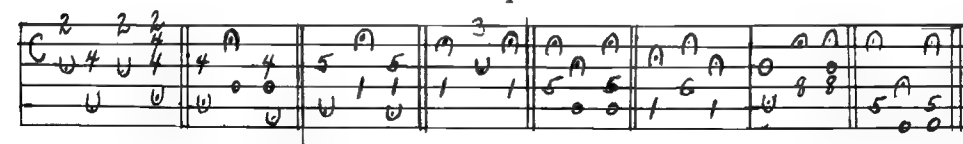
of the first string and will provide the basis for adjusting the third fret.

Having found its correct position, you will tune the open fifth string with the fifth fret of the fourth string, which should be in unison. When you have tuned the open fifth string, you will use it to regulate the sixth fret in the following way. You will adjust the tuning of the first fret of the fifth string, which has the same pitch as the sixth fret of the fourth string. Then on the basis of the requirements of your ear, you will set the sixth fret in the proper position.

You have yet to tune the eighth fret and the sixth string. In tuning the eighth fret you will do as follows. You will test the pitch of the eighth fret of the fourth string, which should be an octave over the open third string. Then the open third string will provide the means of regulating the eighth fret. Then you will check the pitch of the fifth fret of the fifth string. That will provide the means of tuning the open sixth string, which should be at the same pitch.

Having spoken about the tuning of the open string and about the adjustment of all eight frets, I shall give you an example for complete clarification. I must point out however, that the signs that you see over the number and which look like a semi-circle with a point inside, are intended to show that the tone is to be sustained until it satisfies the requirements of the ear.

Example



Note that when you have adjusted the frets and have tuned the strings in the manner described above and if you still have not succeeded in tuning as perfectly as you would like according to the judgment of your ear or in a manner which will permit the achievement of good consonances on the instrument itself or in consort, it could be because of lack of acuity in your own hearing. It could also happen because of the content of the music and the effect created by a fifth which is too narrow, as already mentioned before. In such cases you will need to make further adjustments by

moving the fret more or less until the ear is satisfied. In this way you will be able to work with the care required to achieve proper tuning through the adjustment of frets. In the following, I shall discuss the second topic on my mind.

Chapter VII

RULES OF TABLATURE FOR THE VIOL AND THE LUTE; RULES FOR FINGERING

I would like to point out, noble reader, that just as I have found very few rules governing lute tablature, I also have found even those deficient in showing how to use the fingers either for the right hand or the left hand, in a way that brings out the harmonies intended by the composer. For this reason, I have deliberated about a procedure which would be applicable both for the viol and for the lute. To this end I shall explain a procedure which is prompted by my best intentions and which I hope will meet your expectations.

In the first place, having given you some rules on tablature in the Rubertina, I see no purpose in discussing those points again, but I would like to touch on other aspects, as I had promised to do. For example, I have designated this sign:



to indicate that the finger is to be held on the string until the full chord is sounded as written by the composer; this is necessary with the lute and every other instrument of that kind.

So is it also with the organ that one should take care to sustain the harmony or consonance designated by the composer, by holding the finger on the key so that the organ pipe produces the effect of sustaining the sound for the length of the note value in the composition. This sign will be placed above or below all the numbers in a plucked chord, just as with single notes. I believe this explanation clarifies sufficiently that the designated symbol indicates that the consonance or chord is to be sustained.

For the purpose of fingering of the left hand on the finger-board, I have designated dots in a certain order to indicate which finger should be used corresponding to the number of the fret.

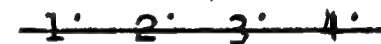
Under this system, when you see a dot above the line and just preceding the number in this way,



it means that you should use the index finger. When you see the dot under the line in this way,



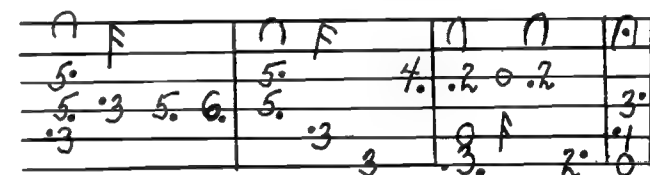
it means you should use the middle finger. When you see the dot following the number in this way,



it means you should use the ring finger. When it is placed below the line in this way



it means you should use the little finger. Thus I have explained the symbol for sustaining the harmony of a chord with the fingers, and the system of dots which show which finger to use in playing consonances in the way expected by a good teacher. I shall clarify this discussion with the following examples.



Please note that what I intend is that the finger be held down on the string and that the finger move only when indicated. So that you may understand this better, I shall show in Chapter VIII, by use of this example, how to use the right hand on the body of the instrument.

Chapter VIII

METHOD OF USING THE HAND ON THE BODY OF THE INSTRUMENT

To begin with, every time that you see a dot below the number in this way,



what is meant is that you pluck the string from above with the index finger, and that you should pull away from the viol in so

doing. In plucking from below, however, you draw near the viol with your arm. The point was already discussed in the Rubertina, if I remember correctly, and it also occurred in the rules with the first tablature that was ever written and still in use today. I can't resist adding a few words, however, in this section.

Although you probably understand the necessity for these rules, I would like to point out that they provide the ways and means for playing correctly: they are similar to the various symbols which are used to show how to pronounce letters, syllables, words and sentences. The rules of tablature under discussion also give precise procedures based upon instruction by capable teachers who have analyzed the technique of skilled players.

I shall now turn to our main topic. It was said that the point under a number, that is to say under just one number, is to be played with the index finger from above. When the point is shown above the number, however, in this way

1 2 3 4

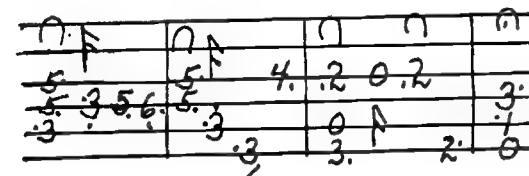
it means that the middle finger is to be used to pluck the string from above. When you have a slash mark below like this,

A horizontal number line with four tick marks labeled 1, 2, 3, and 4 from left to right. Each tick mark has a short diagonal line segment extending downwards from it.

it means that you use the ring finger to pluck the string, again from above. Since the little finger is the one which gives stability to the hand, I do not want to use it for plucking, since it already has its own work to do in assisting the other fingers. This is similar to the left hand, where the thumb is brought into use on the finger-board to render stability to the hand and to the other fingers. Moreover, I have not designated its use for playing on the frets, since it already has enough to do, although at times it can be used on any fret of the bottom string. Except for a few such consonances, however, the hand can move about more freely on the frets when the thumb is not required to play on them. Likewise, the little finger of the right hand should be kept free. I needn't amplify with further examples.

I do want to fulfill my promise, however, to repeat the example illustrated above, by cautioning you about the fingers of the right hand as they are used on the body of the instrument. So that you will come to understand the necessity of such rules be-

cause of the benefits they provide in practice, I shall give you, as promised, an example as follows.



Note that in the beginning of the example you see the numbers five and six, which are to be played by the little finger. You should not be startled, however, by the thought that it will be too tiring. In every instance that I show this fingering, it is for the purpose of sharing the burden among all the fingers. I say this having found that a skilled performer finds this procedure beneficial to the results he achieves. Indeed I would be negligent if I were not to tell you about such things, because giving more work to one finger than to another, produces a performance of a novice rather than one of a skilled player. This is particularly noticeable in fast passages. So that you can understand my point better, I will say that you should not be startled every time you have to make a choice between two evils; you simply should take the lesser one. If you put into consideration which is the greater of these two evils, the one which disrupts or does not maintain the harmonic line conceived by the composer or the one which may tax one finger more than one would do otherwise, I say that the lesser evil is to tax the finger to the maximum in the way shown above, rather than to give up its part in producing harmonies, because the extent of tiring the finger in this case, is moderate.

If we were talking about playing cromes or semi-cromes, however, it might be better to let harmony give way to the fingers, which might suffer because of the speed of the passage. Otherwise, it might sound like the playing of a novice rather than of a skilled player. If we were talking about semi-minims, on the other hand, it also would apply here that the lesser evil, in comparison with the disruption of harmony, is the one which brings the strain on the fingers to a point which is still tolerable, by requiring patient practice by the player because of his respect for the composition. Good judgment requires that the harmony be maintained within limits, whether it be by patient practice of fingering to achieve

the effect or by the practice of diminutions. The player must exercise diligence, however, by seeing to it that the harmonies are in fact heard even though the diminutions, which are done only to ornament the composition, as one would expect from skilled instrumental and vocal artists. It is for such reasons that it is important for you to be enlightened on the many factors which should be considered in playing these instruments, and the various caveats which should be recognized.

Now I shall give you some rules for the right hand, with respect to plucking and playing chords. As an expression of my good intentions, I plan to give detailed instruction on the use of the fingers in plucking, because this is a necessary function in playing the instrument. As is well known, there are three problems involved in the use of the right hand on the body of the instrument. These are plucking, pulling or activating the string with the thumb from below, and then playing all voices at one time. The following contains the facts that should be learned to follow the demands imposed on us by the instrument.

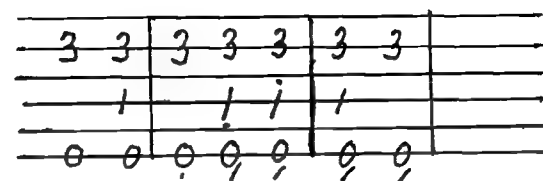
Chapter IX

THE WAY TO USE THE FINGERS IN PLUCKING

You should take note that, whenever you see a double note or consonance of two notes to be plucked and if the lower number has a point underneath it, it signifies that you are to pluck with the thumb and the middle finger. Whenever you see a slash with a single number, as I said earlier, it is to be plucked with the same finger, that is the ring finger. The dot and sign indicate plucking of a double note, but if you see neither the dot nor the sign, it means that you should play in the manner customarily used in tablature. If the consonance or plucking were for three notes and if the number within the outer notes has a dot underneath, that point requires you to use the index finger in plucking. If there is a dot over the number, it means to use the middle finger. Note, however, that if there are no dots or other signs, it means, as I repeated above, that you should use the fingers which are currently designated in the rules of tablature.

Since I have learned on several occasions that examples are understood much better than words, I shall give you the best

example that can be put into illustration, rather than word examples, which I prefer to avoid. The following example shows, first, the consonance with neither a dot nor a sign, as is found in customary usage. Then will follow consonances with dots and signs, as just described, to show the proper fingers to use in plucking.



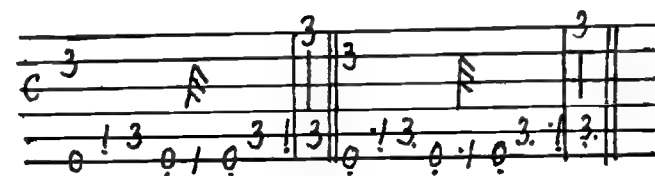
So that you will understand better the reasons for this instruction, I shall give you an example containing the plucking symbols, for you to follow in playing consonances. Then there will be some *vie* or *passaggi*, and the results you achieve will assure you of the necessity of following this method. An example will be given, but first you will have the usual version without the special symbols and then, the edited version.

Chapter X

RECAPITULATION OF THE RULES GOVERNING THE EXAMPLES

Unedited

Edited



You experienced readers will see, at the beginning of the last example in the last chapter, that playing a *discorso* in the usual manner, without special symbols, the effect is impaired because of overtiring the index finger. Since it is a fact that no tablature contains symbols to indicate changes in the fingers used in plucking strings, everyone or, at least most people would pluck the notes at the beginning of the example with the thumb and index finger, and do the same in the second part, at the end of the *discorso*. If it were a *discorso* of cromes, however, and if you were to proceed in a lively

tempo, you would not be able to achieve a brisk and clean result. Moreover, if it were a passage of semi-minims, it would be faulty because, if you did not play as I indicated with plucking symbols in the repeat of the *discorso*, you would come to achieve the same effect as a person, who wishing to do a job or doing it, would finish his task in a way which showed the lack of an essential element. You will not find yourself lacking if you understand that what you undertake will be done poorly, or at least not with the perfection you may have in mind, if there are some things lacking in your work. You can understand the analogy in the example cited above. As proof that the method of plucking according to my method is the correct one, I say that if you pluck in the usual manner, that is, with the thumb and index fingers, even though you could in fact play with the thumb and middle fingers, you will produce the effect of a person who works with doubtful intentions and has no motivation to do otherwise. But if you practice plucking with the thumb and middle fingers as was shown, you will achieve results similar to that of the master craftsman who does not work with doubtful purposes, having neglected to do an important part of his work. You will not fail if you see that your fingers are there in preparation for their work, like tools necessary to do a job. You must use your fingers in a comfortable position, however, in achieving your purpose. But if you do not operate on the basis of the example, that is, with attention to the designated fingering, you will be doing something like the person who ignores the things that are necessary to his task, since by such neglect he works with doubtful purposes and will have no objective, as I said before. Therefore, you should show diligence in this matter by discovering that if the fingers are ready and at your immediate disposal in playing, that they will adapt themselves to the task at hand.

I remind you also to share the work load among the fingers, which is the premise behind the example. Your playing will be impaired if, indeed, you see that you are not plucking in the prescribed manner and that you are overtiring the index finger, by playing two cromes while plucking with the fingers twice from above. This comes from playing without the designated fingering, as people have done in the past, instead of sharing the work among the fingers.

I could tell you many things on this subject, but since I have

a great deal of faith in your intelligence, I am sure that much has been captured with little, which is to say that a word to the wise is sufficient. Thus I bring this discussion to an end. I shall proceed with my promise of giving a recapitulation of all the signs and dots relating to viol and lute tablature.

First, there is the sign designated to show the sustaining of a sound, which is



The dot designated for the index finger of the left hand is this:



The dot designated for the middle finger is this:



The dot designated for the ring finger is this:



and the dot designated for the little finger is underneath the line and follows the number in this way:



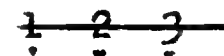
These are the dots which designate, therefore, the fingers of the left hand and the sign to indicate that the finger should be held down to sustain the harmony designated by the composer or the musician.

I still want to repeat, however, that whenever the number one has no dot, it is meant to be played by the index finger, the number two by the middle finger, the number three by the ring finger and the number four by the little finger, as was said earlier. The following will be a recapitulation of the rules governing the use of the fingers of the right hand on the body of the instrument.

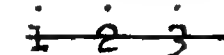
Chapter X (sic)

RECAPITULATION OF THE DOTS AND SIGNS DESIGNATED FOR THE RIGHT HAND

First, I repeat the rule that the point under a single number in this way



indicates the use of the index finger in plucking the string from above, as the hand and arm are pulled away from the viol. When the point is above the number in this way



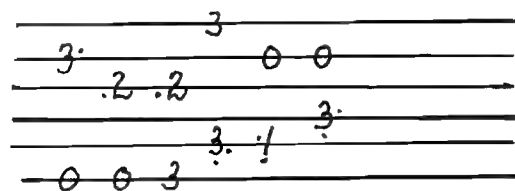
it is to be plucked with the middle finger from above, as is natural, and the thumb from below. Then the slash mark under the number in this way



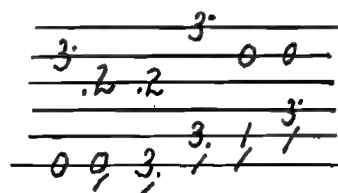
indicates the use of the ring finger. These are the signs and dots which indicate the use of the right hand in plucking the string from above. What follows are the dots and signs indicated just for the fingers of the right hand in plucking consonances, as I have promised you several times, and I hope it will fulfill everyone's expectations.

Chapter XII

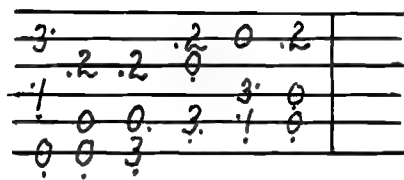
RECAPITULATION OF THE DOTS AND SIGNS DESIGNATED FOR PLUCKING WITH THE RIGHT HAND



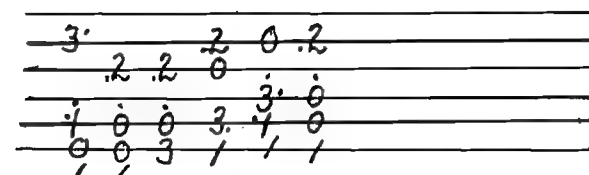
Note that the dot under the lower number in the manner shown in the example, is to be played with the thumb and middle fingers. Whenever you see a slash mark just under a lower number



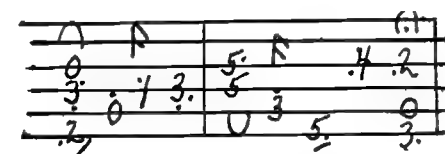
in this manner, then it is to remind you to pluck with the thumb and ring fingers. Then there is the rule for plucking of consonances of three notes. Within the outside numbers, the dot under the



number in this manner is to be played with the index finger, and if the dot is placed above the number in the way which you can see in the following example, that means that it is intended as an ex-



ample of the symbols designated to accommodate the right hand. It should be played with the middle finger, as you can understand and see from the example. So that you come to understand better the reasoning behind this system, you should try an example which requires a single plucked note, together with and followed by a chord or several voices, which will show the purpose of the example. I would like to add some more instruction aside from this summary. What is reiterated in this chapter is that the dot under



the lower number is to be played with the ring finger. For the plucked three-note chord, the dot under the number between the two outer numbers is to be played with the index finger; if the dot is above the number, that number is to be played with the middle finger.

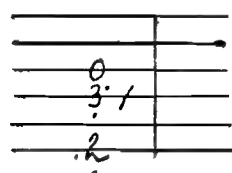
Let us proceed with further instruction as I promised, but you should understand that when the plucked note has neither dot nor other sign, it is intended to be played in the usual way. I wished to put symbols on all the numbers, so as to facilitate your practice according to the system described earlier. The rest of what I had promised to cover follows.

Chapter XIII

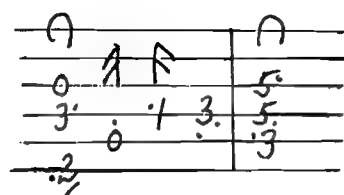
INSTRUCTION ON THE MOVEMENT OF THE FINGERS

When you see a slash mark next to the number in the follow-

ing way, it means that you should raise the finger so as to play the



other voices or plucked notes as you wish. This is because if you keep the finger down and then play the other notes, you may produce a dissonance. So that you understand this point better, I shall illustrate with a small *discorso*.



This example should convince you of the necessity and value of my instruction. If you keep the finger down on the fret corresponding to the number between the two outer notes, namely number three, and if then, you want to play the open second string, which is seen in the example, you will get a dissonance rather than a consonance, because you would sound a second. You might say that it may be permissible according to the rules of counterpoint, which provide that if there are four semi-minims, the first and third must be consonant, whereas the second and fourth may be discordant or dissonant. That is true, but the concept behind my teaching is to have you recognize which voice is moving, and which may be moving with diminutions. That is comprehended in this example, which indicates that in moving the finger from the third fret immediately after plucking, the result is a *discorso* consisting of the notes: sol-la-fa-sol-la. Because there is a special sign to remind you to hold the finger down so as to sustain the sound of a chord, I want at the same time that it should not be made to sound like an error due to that sign, and therefore I remind you to move the finger where it is necessary. I shall say no more about this since I've already said enough.

You should still remember, however, the purpose of the sign, which is to indicate the raising of the finger and which is designated

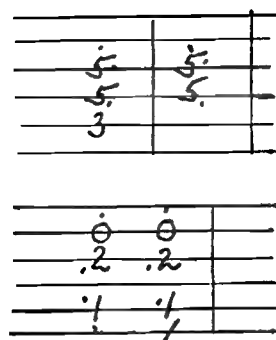
with a slash mark before or after the number. Since there is never a rule without an exception, that is without a counterpart in reverse, we have here a rule for holding down the finger and the contrasting rule to raise or move the finger. The following chapter contains more instruction on this subject.

Chapter XIII

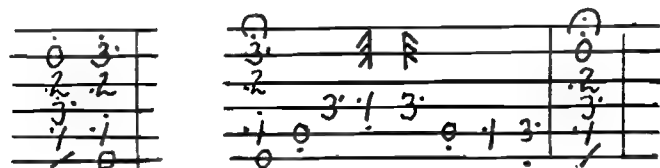
INSTRUCTION ON THE USE OF THE THUMB AND STRUMMING WITH THE RIGHT HAND

Since these instruments require finger technique, one should look into how to use the fingers of the right hand. I find that there is still much need to develop rules for the use of the thumb. We can assume that it is natural to pluck the string with the thumb from below and with the other fingers from above. I find, however, that sometimes it is not beyond consideration to pluck the string with the thumb from above and also to pluck several strings from below, which is to strum a chord; as I said before, this is one of the three effects that require the use of the right hand on the body of the instrument. This does not apply unless one can make use of the other fingers in sharing the effort. Also, with respect to the different effects produced between plucking and strumming, it can be understood better by the difference to the ear in the sound of a chord in plucking, in comparison with strumming. Moreover, it may be necessary to achieve an easy affect. In this connection, a dot is introduced as a symbol to designate strumming of a chord, that is plucking from below all the strings with the thumb. Furthermore, there is also plucking of a note with the thumb from above in such a manner that every time you see a point above that upper note, in the way shown here, all the numbers in the chord are plucked with the thumb by pulling all the strings from below.

When you want to sound the chord at one time by plucking and strumming, so as to accommodate the fingers comfortably, it is designated with a dot and sign under the lower number, which was discussed earlier in the rules for plucking. Also, if you should see a dot placed by the lower number in the way shown, such a chord should be played with the thumb activating the string from below, except that the string, or lower number, should be played by the usual finger.



This can be recognized by the dot and sign below it, as you can see readily in the example given. Whenever the chord contains four notes and if you want to play the chord with the thumb strumming two strings from below in order to play comfortably, and by plucking the two lower strings by the two fingers designated by the dot and sign, which are in this example, then you should play the chord with the thumb on the two upper strings and sound the two lower strings with the ring and middle fingers; this is readily evident from the example. The fingering given is necessary in order to accommodate the index finger, so as to execute the *passagio* comfortably through the sharing of the burden of playing among the fingers. I would like to point out, however, that when a four-note chord does not have a dot with the inner numbers, but only on the upper and lower ones, then the upper three numbers should be played with the thumb and the lower number with the finger depicted with a dot or sign. The following contains a *passagio* to be plucked so that you will understand the purpose with specific



examples. Note, distinguished reader, that many things have been neglected in playing these instruments because of a lack of understanding about how to play comfortably. If one knew the way to play in an easy manner, then one would have the incentive

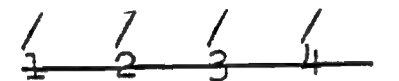
to practice more. If that does not happen, it is because of neglect in accepting advice about uncovering the mysteries of playing so as to do so comfortably, which is the subject at hand. In any event, don't be dismayed by this discussion; indeed, I expect to discuss other ways and means to achieve facility on and get good results from these instruments. In the following chapter I would like to speak on the subject of plucking the string from above in certain instances. There is nothing wrong about looking into a number of aspects of playing, since the guidance which comes from it will bring things to light which one otherwise might learn only by chance. The following will provide some insights on plucking the string with the thumb from above.

Chapter XIII (sic)

DISCUSSION ON WORKING THE STRING WITH THE THUMB FROM ABOVE

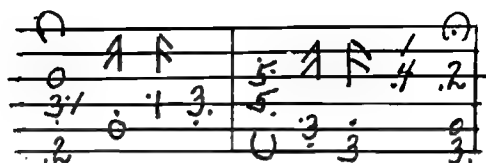
I might be lacking in the knowledge demanded by the subject, as my learned readers may believe, but even if it is so, there has been no lack in my dedication or in my purpose. I hope that my readers likewise will be dedicated and that hopefully, through their generosity and kindness, they will appreciate the sincerity of my purpose. I can say also that through your appreciation you will become better acquainted with the results you can expect to achieve by applying yourself with as much effort as I have expended in developing the subject. If you do this, not only will you be doing me a favor, but also honoring me in utilizing the creation of my daily labors. Such favor on your part will justify also all the objectives which I felt should be fulfilled in this and other efforts of mine and which I wanted to fulfill as much for my own benefit as for service to you, gentle reader. Now I shall continue with the additional material I promised earlier.

Note that a slash mark placed above the number is a sign that the note should be played with the thumb from above, indicated as follows:

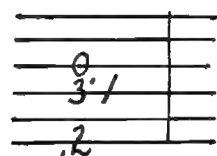


So that you may understand the context better, I shall give you an example in which this is illustrated.

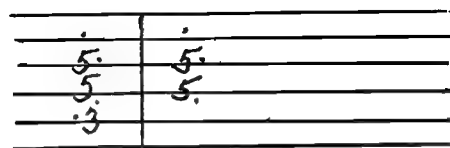
Example



Note that in the previous Chapters XIII and XIII, I introduced the slash mark following a number to indicate that you must move the finger in this manner:



In Chapter XIII and again in Chapter XIII, I presented the rule that the dot over the upper note was to be played with the thumb strumming all the strings from below. This was represented by means of dots and signs, as given in the previous example, which first indicated strumming of strings from below. The example follows:

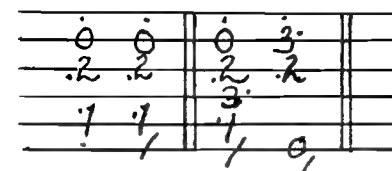


To play the chord, all strings should be played from below with one stroke of the thumb.

It was also explained in this chapter that, at times, such chords are played by strumming and plucking. The strumming is indicated by a dot placed over the upper number and the plucking by the dot and sign with the lower numbers. See the adjoining example, which illustrates the purpose of the instruction.

Then in this chapter, there is an explanation of plucking the string with the thumb from above, as shown by a slash mark over the number. Following that, there will be a section devoted to

ricercari for practice on the viol and not on the lute, since this



treatise was intended primarily for the needs of the viol player.

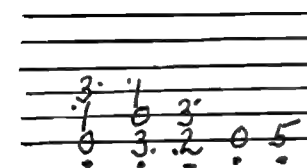
Following these ricercari there will be a madrigal given as an example of playing two parts on the viol and singing the third part. Then you will be given a little something for the lute, as an example of playing from tablature according to the rules given earlier. The purpose of the instruction will be understood through the actual results produced by following the rules.

If you are not able to do all these examples, you can always put them aside to practice at your leisure. The rest of what I proposed to present then will follow. Note that before giving you the ricercari, I would like to talk about the way to use the bow.

Chapter XV

DISCUSSION OF RULES FOR BOWING

I have already given you rules for playing the lute with the right hand, in which plucking the string from above is depicted by a dot and sign, whereas playing the string from below is depicted by neither a dot nor a sign by the number. By the same token, bowing strokes are indicated in the following manner: whenever you see associated with numbers for a chord, a dot under the lower number in this fashion,



you always take the bow stroke from above and in such a way as to pull away from the viol with the arm. If the number or numbers

have no dot whatever, that means the chord should be played from below in such a way that you bring yourself nearer the viol with your arm. In such cases, only the numbers are given for the chords. Whenever there is a dot underneath, either in a chord or in single notes, it is intended to indicate pulling the bow away from the viol with the arm, but without raising the bow from the viol. In drawing the bow, however, you must use a bit of pressure at the time you play the second number, using a little movement to help you connect from one number to the other. You should do the same even when there is no dot at all, in which case, as said above, you bow from below, while approaching the viol with the arm and the bow, always pushing at the right time for the second number, or going from number to number. This is necessary to articulate each beat, and is to be done at the beginning of a push bow in doing *groppetti* and *discorsi*. The reason for this is that all the beginnings must be good in order to produce a good follow-through. This was discussed in the Rubertina, and I refer you to it.

I should like to point out that, in doing *tirate* or *groppetti*, you should proceed in the manner discussed, but playing the first stroke or voice with a push bow at the beginning of a *groppo* or *passaggio* in extended or highly ornamented passages. I also give you examples which have been worked out as in improvisation. I won't say any more about this, except that you must remember to be patient in your learning, as well as to have devotion to the task as confirmation of that patience, because it would be sad not to be able to do some passages as you would hope to do them. You also ought to know that, for sure, whatever nature provided in years past still exists in the present. Whatever worked in the minds of people in those days, still works today. I don't want to theorize more in this chapter, as it is always easy to get on to new topics of interest. I shall end by saying and doing in the next chapter what I set out to do, that is to present some *ricercari* for the viol and the madrigal.

I should point out to the reader that in the following madrigal for viol, the treble voice begins on a note which is the same pitch as the third fret of the fifth string. Also note that in the third measure, the first and second numbers are in the tempo of a minim and that the third number is to be played in the tempo of a semi-breve. This reminder is necessary because of some errors which were noted only after this volume went to press.

Ricercar Primo

Chapter XVI

INVESTIGATION INTO THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE VIOL AND THE WAY TO BRING THEM OUT

Since there are other aspects about viol playing which I think merit elaboration, I should like to assume that these two *ricercari* are sufficient, as much for exposure to the *ricercari* style on this instrument, as for experience in adjusting frets and tuning strings. What is to be demonstrated in the following example is a madrigal, to be played on the viol and sung at the same time. Since there are still today two qualified experts on this style of performance, the one being Mr. Juliano Tiburtino and the other Mr. Lodovico Lasagnino Fiorentino, I decided to attempt this style of performance myself. Furthermore, my discussion will take into account the considerations which those learned men are concerned with. I hope to shed light on the differences between this and the usual kind of playing and that you will be able to acquire some skill in it.

I am sure you will not be lacking in the freedom of spirit which is needed to venture into this performance practice and which reflects the true wisdom of a wise man. I can say that if this madrigal does not appear to lend itself to a performance which reflects exactly what the composer intended, it is not the composition which is at fault, because the instrument used in executing the piece is not the natural one, as would be the lute. With a lute, one can strum or pluck the strings for the part that is figured against the steady melodic line, in a way that the viol cannot be played because it is bowed, although it is true that in playing it in the manner of a seven string *lyra*, it can imitate the lute style. There is, however, a difference between something natural and something contrived. With a bow, moreover, you will not be able to do two different voices, since the bow is occupied with the strings all at one time. If you wish to play two-part harmonies with chords and to sing the third part, you will have to play three or four strings at once, so that the chords do three parts. In this case, however, doing what is not in the nature of the instrument will produce results which are deficient. At times you will play more than what is in the composition. Also, those strings which may be added to a chord may be repeating the harmony of the part which is

sung. Furthermore, the relative quality of the instrument is not particularly important, because any instrument of a certain kind may be better in certain respects than any instrument of a different kind. If you wished to produce an effect suggesting they were both of one kind, for example, if you were to compare a trumpet with a lute, the lute in this case would be the more expressive instrument, but each one produces certain effects better than the other. This is borne out as follows.

The trumpet is extremely effective in playing music for the inspiration of soldiers under arms or in battles, whereas the lute is not. If one tried to do it with the lute, the effect would be contrived and unsuccessfully imitative. Similarly, if the viol were used to imitate the lute and proved deficient, it would not be surprising. In order to make my point somewhat clearer, I can say that if you wished to play a piece which is in four or five parts while singing the fifth, you would need to use a longer bow than is customarily used. This is because the hairs on a longer bow would be less stretched, allowing one to draw the bow with less pressure on the strings while playing a chord. Then you could use the fingers to stretch the hairs when playing fewer strings or a single string. Moreover, the curvature of the fingerboard should not be too steep, nor that of the nut and the bridge, so that one can bow the chords more easily.

I will tell you, however, that if you play the instrument in the way I have described, it will be comfortable even on an ordinary viol, without having to change the bow or the bridge, because with only a little practice you can get to sing one part and play the other two. Such performance practice is acceptable for the legitimate reasons given earlier, and is illustrated in the following example of a madrigal. I say "example" in that you follow the practices of the experts in doing the parts according to the instructions I have given. I say also that there will be no objection if you have to let some things go, or if you do more than what is in the composition, since you will need to make such modifications to accommodate the characteristics of the instrument. It is important, however, not to add or subtract in the vocal part from what the composer has written. This does not mean, however, that you should not add judicious ornamentation.

You know of course that the viol is not in its natural milieu

in this kind of performance, but the modifications which are used are as justified as with a seven-string lyra. The way in which the instrument should be held, its usage in bass accompaniment and the sound of a lyra will be discussed in another book of mine, which will deal with the right way of playing the instrument. Now follows the example of the madrigal as discussed.

Io vor- rei dio d'a- mo- re - - - che tu me con- for-
(I wish, oh god of love - - - that you would comfort

TA - SI - - - O CHE ME RI-TRO-VA- SI UN ALTRA FI-DEL
me - - - or that you would find me - another faithful

POA-TA-RE A-MO-RE E POA-TA-RE A-MO-RE CO-ME FA-CE-VA
bestow love - - - upon - me, as - did

DO- NA CHE PER ME FO- SE - - - BO- NA E
woman who would be good - - - to - me, and

LA CHE M'E- RA SCO - - - SA MA SOL PER MAN DE
one - who has departed - from - me - , but only by the hand

MOR-TE INVI - - DI- O - - - SA - - - - -
of an envious - death - - - - -

QUE- LA CHE M'E- RA SCO SA MA SOL PER
the one who has departed from me - , but only by

MAN' DE MOR-TE INVI DI- O - SA CO. ME FA- CE- VA QUE-
the hand of an envious death - - - as did the

DISCUSSION OF SHIFTS IN HAND POSITIONS
AND IN STRINGS

I have fulfilled my obligation to show how to play two parts and sing the third. Now I shall proceed with the rest of what I set out to do, namely to give some *ricercari* for one voice. Then I shall give some instruction and hints on many things bearing on the effects one can achieve if one has sufficient knowledge of the subject. First, you should know that an accomplished player on this instrument gains his accomplishment from four capabilities. Of these, two are characterized as mastery and two, as expertise. The principal mastery is the knowledge of all consonances and *specie*. The expertise counterpart is playing something which is exactly as composed. The third capability is mastery of counterpoint; the fourth is expertise, given the counterpoint, in doing diminutions as they serve to embellish the composition. As a player or a singer, you can avail yourself of instructions of various authors on the knowledge of *specie* and consonances in singing, which you can use also for playing, along with the logic and rules of counterpoint which dictate how to do the diminutions.

You already have the theory and practice of diminutions in the Fontegara, but there are no rules relating to the techniques for doing diminutions on this instrument, that you might use for doing a variety of diminutions properly. Since this is highly important for the viol as well as for the lute, I want to say that you will get some instructions and hints about it in this work. For your better understanding of the subject, kind readers, I can say that of all the theories that can be learned in music, the most essential for the player is the theory of diminutions, as I have said before. Equally important is the knowledge of *specie* and the theory of counterpoint. If you have not learned these through instruction in performing diminutions on the viol, with the degree of facility which produces an effect with no apparent effort, as one might expect from a teacher rather than from a student, you will derive no pleasure from your knowledge. This means that your knowledge of how to get around the fingerboard of this instrument to achieve the results that are possible to achieve, is as important as your learning the theory and rules for playing diminutions, the theory of counterpoint, the various tunings and a

knowledge of *specie*. For this reason, I abandon lengthy discussion on matters that could be discussed and proceed instead with the instruction I set out to give. So as to be as brief as possible, I shall discuss the rules for the proper method of doing diminutions by the player, the reasons for shifts in hand positions on the frets and string changes with the bow; examples will be given as well.

The first example will be to show the importance of rules established in the past on the dots placed next to the number above and below the line preceding, as well as the line following the number. Other symbols will be shown for use on the viol, for training in execution of music exactly as would be executed by an expert performer, without special string or position changes in doing *passaggi*.

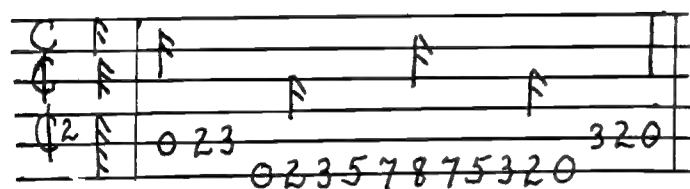
Following this will be the second illustrated example, wherein shifts in hand positions are depicted by dots next to the numbers, but no shifts in strings. The third example will deal with shifts in strings and hand positions. The fourth, fifth and sixth examples will focus on the ability to use the fingerboard in various manners and means with the same *passaggio*, as well as instruction on the dots and shifts in strings and hand positions. I hope that this short discussion will suffice to introduce the many things that could be discussed in greater detail but, as I said again in the previous discussion, I content myself to launch the beginning of various subjects, because otherwise I would run out of space to discuss the intermediate and advanced aspects of the technique required to play this instrument. So that the rationale behind my treatise is understood, however, I should like to give you an example in words.

You know that it is necessary to make shifts in singing voices and in the pitches of the notes in rising and falling passages, whether the notes go below c or above a. It is neither more nor less important to shift hand positions and strings, as mentioned earlier. As evidence of this truth, you know that we have four fingers with which to finger the frets, but of these four, only three are always used in ascending or descending passages, beginning with the open string and up to the little finger. If you wish to rise two or three frets higher, then you must shift positions, just as though you wished to sing two or three notes higher than a. The same applies in a descending passage.

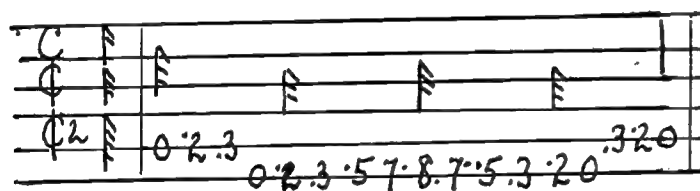
I believe that this is all that needs to be discussed to justify the necessity of shifting. Hence, I shall not discuss this further, but will follow with the examples I have promised. The first will be without any special signs, to show the necessity for special rules and symbols. Then will follow other examples, with symbols, as will be given according to the verbal instruction.

First example, to show the necessity of using dots to show where to change the hand position.

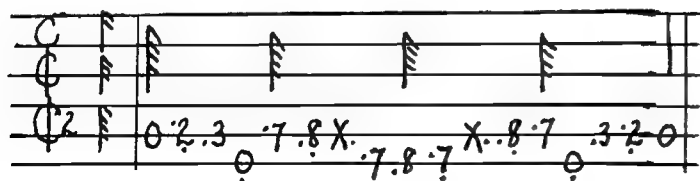
Discorso without symbols



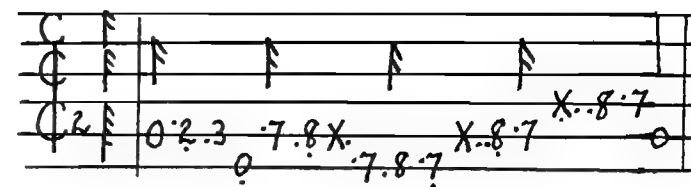
Second example, with symbols, to justify the need for the system of dots to show changes in hand positions.



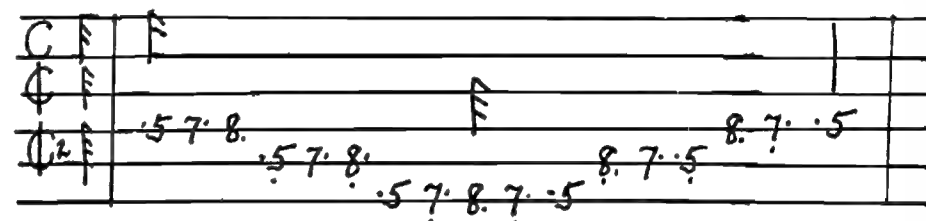
Third example pertaining to the system of dots which show shifts in hand positions and changes in strings, as well as the bowings which are indicated by the dots under the numbers.



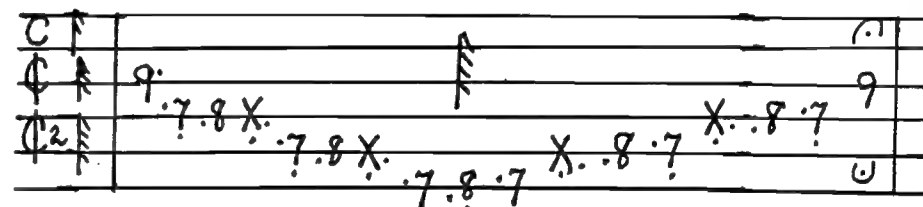
Fourth example with symbols, showing changes in strings and shifts in hand positions and frets, together with bowings.



Fifth example of a change in strings and in frets, together with fingerings and bowings.



Sixth example, various shifts in frets and changes of strings, together with fingerings and bowings.

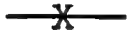

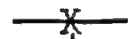





Chapter XVIII

INSTRUCTION TO OVERCOME CONFUSION IN READING AND IN OTHER MATTERS

Some remedy for confusion is essential for any matter, particularly if it is a question of an impediment to hearing, taste, touch, smell or sight. With reference to the subject at hand, I did want to say something about confusion of the eye in interpreting the many dots and signs around the numbers. This is particularly important when doing diminutions in ascending note sequences going beyond

the frets, especially when two-digit numbers are required, that is, the numbers ten and higher. For that purpose, I have designated dots and lines in the following system.

Every time you see the number ten in the form of a Roman numeral  and it has a dot above it like this, , you should interpret this as eleven. Whenever you have a dot below it in this manner, , it means the number twelve. Whenever you have a dash in this form, , that is always taken as number thirteen. Whenever you have it underneath in this manner, , it is interpreted as number fourteen. Whenever you have both dash marks as follows, , it is interpreted as number fifteen. Since there are sufficient symbols for the numbers used on this instrument, no further discussion is necessary, but I will talk about the dots, as I promised before.

Just as one gets to know the names of the sounds or notes and chords by means of spaces and lines, so can one get to know the meaning of the numbers on the lines, which in this case stand for the strings of the instrument. Thus if we were to take the note do to be on the line, the space following will be the location of the note mi. If the second space represents the note fa, then the second line represents the note sol, and the third space, following an ascending sequence, will represent the note la. If you go past the third space by two notes, a change occurs.

Similarly, it is neither more nor less important to consider the question of dots next to the numbers on the lines. They shall be given in such a way that if you should see two or three numbers on a line and if the first number were, say, five, and the following number were six, followed by an eight, and if the first number were played with the index finger, then even if there were no dots shown for the second and third numbers, it should be understood that they are always played as though there had been dots. I shall give you an example of this, starting first with dots on all numbers and then, with a dot only on the first number. Example:





If it were a *discorso*, just as one would interpret notation for

a vocal line on lines and spaces, likewise one would understand the placement of the fingers in numbered tablature. Thus, if the number five were played with the index finger, followed by a six, it should be interpreted that the second note is to be played by the middle finger, even if there were no dot given to specify the finger. Furthermore, if the first number were a five, followed by a seven, the second number is understood to be played with the ring finger, even if the usual dot were not shown. Likewise, going from one finger to the next, for example from the number seven, played by the ring finger, to the number eight which had no dot shown, it would be assumed to be played by the little finger.

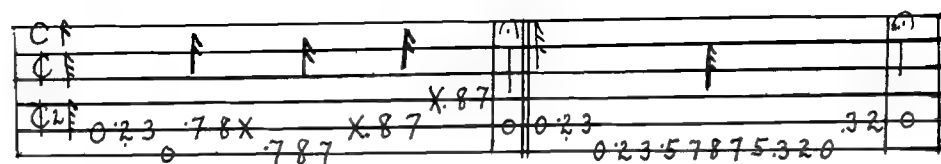
If, on the other hand, the number went beyond the range of the hand position being used, for example going from seven to nine, you would then need to change the hand position or the string, if you were reading from staff notation in vocal music. If you were required to go beyond the note la by two or three notes, and if the note you had just played was with the little finger, then it is always sufficient to have a dot only with the first number, provided that no shift in hand position is intended.

If the first number is played with the middle finger, the second number will be played by the ring finger, provided the increment is only by one fret. If the increment is by two numbers, then the second would be played by the little finger. When there is still another increment, it will require a change either in hand position or in the string played, whichever is appropriate. The converse applies in descending numbers, using the same system.

I don't want to say any more about the role of dots with numbers in designating finger positions on the frets. I shall discuss, however, the rules for dots used to indicate the direction of the bow and those used in connection with the lute. You should understand the meaning of the dots in indicating the direction of the bow. At the beginning of a *grosso* or *discorso*, as I explained to you earlier, always begin in the direction of a push bow, such that you approach the viol with the hand and arm, whereas in a pull bow, you pull away from the viol. But you also must be careful that if a *discorso* or *grosso* consists of cromes, the first stroke or note would be on a push bow and the second on a pull bow, if a dot is shown with the second note to indicate the direction of the bow. Like-

wise, one proceeds with the rules which apply to the lute. I believe this will suffice without adding dots to the other numbers in the note sequence of a *gropo* or *discorso*, because if it were a *passaggio* with diminutions, you know very well that there is no way that you can bow twice in sequence in the same direction, especially at a fast tempo. This brings us to the end of the discussion on this subject.

I shall proceed with an example similar to the four illustrative examples of a *passaggio* that had been given earlier, with the system of signs including dots adjacent to the numbers for fingering, dots for bow directions, and the symbols for fret positions of ten and higher. The following example is given to show you the true value of the indoctrination given earlier.



I have not omitted putting dots next to each number in this example, to ensure your complete understanding of the principles and to allow you to practice easily. After practicing this, you will be able to do without the dots on every number. I did wish, however, to discuss this a little, so as not to have failed in the promise I had given, nor in the objective I had in mind, as I have reiterated many times. I have no doubt that you will find that the subject of the dots has been dealt with satisfactorily, as has been the discussion of the fingerboard, the rules for bowing, shifts of hand positions and changes of strings. One of the various things discussed was the jump in the third and fourth examples, which required moving from the open sixth string to the seventh fret of the fifth string. Also included was the movement of the hand from the beginning of the fingerboard to its end, that is, to the seventh fret. That shift cannot be late in execution, because in playing, you must judge the interval of time over which the sound of the open string is sustained. Then the dots one might ascribe to the numbers at the end of the third example could be understood just from the numbers three and two, without adjacent dots, in that the usual dots are to be assumed, namely the customary dot for three for the ring finger and the one for two, for the middle finger.

As you have been advised on several occasions, whenever you see no dot whatever with numbers one through four, these numbers are to be played by the fingers designated from their natural positions on the frets. Then in the fourth, fifth and sixth examples, you have exercises for playing on the frets of the fingerboard. Also from the third to the sixth examples, there are included the rules for bow directions, by means of the dots placed under the numbers for pull bows, whereby you draw your arm away from the viol, as I have mentioned many times. We shall proceed now at a rather quick pace to cover some other subjects which are highly pertinent for this instrument.

Chapter XVIII

DISCUSSION OF TECHNIQUES FOR PLAYING DIMINUTIONS COMFORTABLY

Let us consider a *gropo* which is played at the conclusion of a cadence ending on an open string, on the first fret and on the second fret. In such cadences, it is necessary to take measures to facilitate the action of the bow; the choices are to stay in the same position, shift to a different position or change strings. What you need to do is to change from position to position, using the string as a bridge, that is to say, going from the open sixth string to the fifth fret of the fifth string, similarly from the open fifth string to the fifth fret of the fourth string, or from the fifth fret of the first string to the open second string, from the fifth fret of the second string to the open third string and from the fourth fret of the third string to the open fourth string, since it will be in unison with the open string just as the fifth frets of the other strings are in unison with the next higher string.

The first fret of the sixth string would have its counterpart in the sixth fret of the fifth string, the first fret of the fifth string with the sixth fret of the fourth string, the sixth fret of the first string with the first fret of the second string, the same with the third string and the first fret of the fourth string, and the fifth fret of the third string with the first fret of the fourth string.

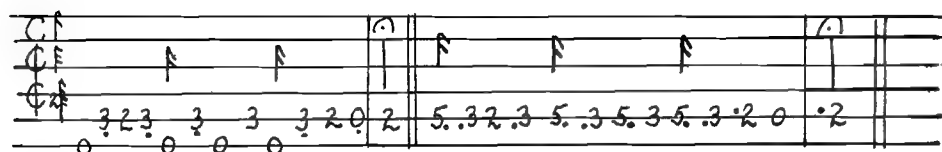
Then, the harmonic link of the second fret, speaking now only of the sixth string, will be the seventh fret of the fifth string, the second fret of the fifth string with the seventh fret of the

fourth string. The same applies to the seventh fret of the first string, which is in unison with the second fret of the second string, the seventh fret of the second string with the second fret of the third string, and the sixth fret of the third string with the second fret of the fourth string.

So that you may comprehend this procedure and the necessity for it, I can say only that if you wish to play a *discorso* without using the links just given, you could not manage the bow at a sufficiently fast pace nor with the facility which would be expected from an experienced player, rather than from a novice, as I have said before on several occasions.

To expedite your learning, I shall give you a procedure which you always must follow in doing a diminution or *passagio*, such that at the speed required, you will avoid going back and forth from one string to the other for more than half a time, or at most one time. You will understand this better from the example which will be given. First it appears in the faulty manner of execution, which I criticized earlier; then there will be an example in the correct manner, using one change of strings as shown below. Do note that the first part is given to get you to recognize, at this time, the faultiness of going back and forth several times from one string to the other. Then will follow the *groppi* played in just one position.

First Example

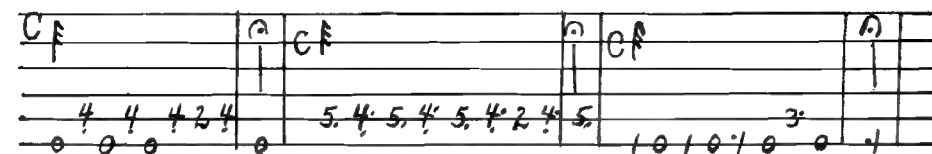


Note that of all the instruction that has been given, this one is particularly useful in showing the technique necessary to execute a passage like an experienced master. It is just like this with the craftsmanship that goes into making this instrument. Any time that the craftsman does not have the foresight to have the appropriate tools at hand in doing his work, say for example, if it were the frame, the results of the finished frame would always be less in quality than if he had had the right tools or know-how. To clarify matters, I give you another example. Every kind of material gets its form from the impression which is made upon it. It can be said also in another example. Men sometimes create forms from which

impressions can be made. Whether these forms are created with tools or simply require talent, the work is still done in a well thought out manner. If the talent is not applied in a disciplined fashion, however, the results always will be deficient. With respect to the topic at hand, you will have received sufficient discipline through the useful exercises given. Having given you these exercises, I shall proceed now to discuss other pertinent matters, but I shall do so briefly. The following will be further illustrative examples, which I promised to give you earlier. You will agree, hopefully, that I could not have exercised greater care in instructing you, than if you were my very own brother.

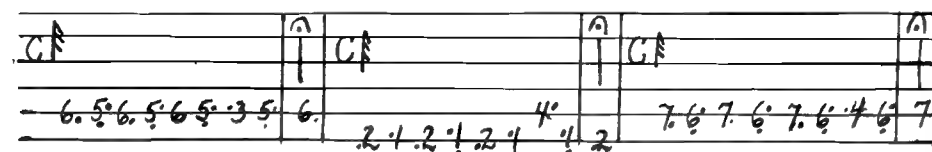
Second Example

Awkward Comfortable with Awkward
edited fingering



Third Example

Comfortable with Awkward Comfortable with
edited fingering



Chapter XX

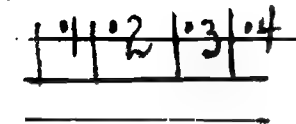
EASY METHOD OF SHORTENING THE EFFECTIVE LENGTH OF THE FINGERBOARD

There is no question, dear reader, that my mind is often absorbed with the desire to eschew lengthy descriptions of technique. Because I do want you to feel comfortable on the instrument, and since I have respect for your intelligence, I do feel it important to give you some token instruction. I mean that I could discuss and explain the many things that one could talk about and do, and of course, I have said that before. But so that you will not fall short of receiving the instruction you need to achieve the results of an ex-

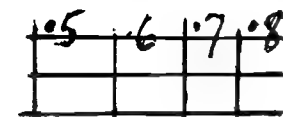
pert performer, I think it is highly appropriate to show you how to play with or without diminutions beyond the frets; that is, on the body of the lute and the viol up to the very end of the fingerboard. Among the most expert players of this instrument, that is to say, the viol, I have seen a Mr. Alfonso da Farrara and a Mr. Ionabattista Cicilian do anything one can possibly do on the instrument — the same with a Mr. Francesco da Milano and a Mr. Rubertino Mantoano. Of course, there are not only these four men famed for their proficiency on these instruments, although they are surely worthy of the greatest praise. Indeed, I have seen them play these instruments beyond the frets with such agility and fine execution that made it seem as though there were frets all the way up the fingerboard. I want to do my best, therefore, to tell you about the secrets you need to know about to do what they do. First, I can say that from one finger to the next or from one fret to the next, there is an interval of one semi-tone. From the span of the index finger to the ring finger, I mean from the first fret to the third, which are the frets for which these fingers are designated, or from the second to the fourth, which is also a span of just two frets, one produces an interval of a whole tone. However, whenever you have to go beyond the frets for any diminutions, you will have to follow the same procedure, knowing always the positions of each semi-tone and whole tone. This is because if you proceed according to the rules of fingering, it will get you to the right positions as though there were frets, that is to say, going from one fret to the other by a semi-tone, or by the span or movement of two fingers for a whole tone. This is the general procedure you must follow. In so doing, you should be convinced that what is right for the very beginning of some thing or some procedure, is also right for the middle of it, and what is right for the middle is also right for the end. An analogy is a well-proportioned foundation of a building, in which the middle conforms to the foundation and the top conforms to the middle. It is also well known in the sciences, that the initial premises of a proposition must lead you to the middle and finally to the end. I can cite also the scholar who, in his estimation of the value of a work, draws his conclusion by discussing how good a foundation is set by the beginning. In making his judgment, the scholar must look at what goes into the whole, that is, not only the beginning, but the middle and the end, as well as their relationship to each other. Likewise, if you

consider the necessary rule for fingering designated by the dots and signs, that will give you what you need to know how to find your way beyond the frets. Furthermore, I can say that you can produce these notes if you remember also all locations of the frets, namely the first, second, third or whatever fret there is, all of which you need to know for doing diminutions on the viol and on the lute. This is also to the point, if you want to play your instrument in accompaniment with any similar or other kind of instrument.

If your instrument had to be tuned a whole tone or a semi-tone lower than the normal tuning, then at such times you must proceed as follows: Every time you see a stroke next to the preceding number as follows:



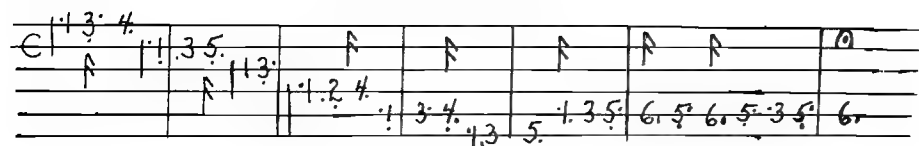
That stroke will signify that one is to bar the note with the index finger, indicated by the dot to the upper left of the number. Likewise, when you need to bar with the finger on several strings, the stroke will extend over those strings as follows:



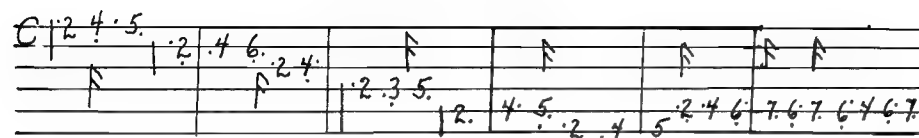
You can use these examples as a guide for facilitating your playing. The first example is the way to shorten the string length over one fret, and the second, over two frets. From these examples you will see that the same barring technique can be used in other situations as required.

So that you don't accuse me of having neglected to give you instruction by means of practical examples of playing beyond the frets, as I had promised in this chapter, I want to say that the examples to follow serve various purposes and do require going beyond the frets. I should say that this is as appropriate to the lute as to the viol. I say, however, that the rule for barring with the index finger should be contained in the tablature in the manner just shown and, as I said before, would apply equally to the lute and to the viol. Here are the examples which I had promised to give.

Third Example

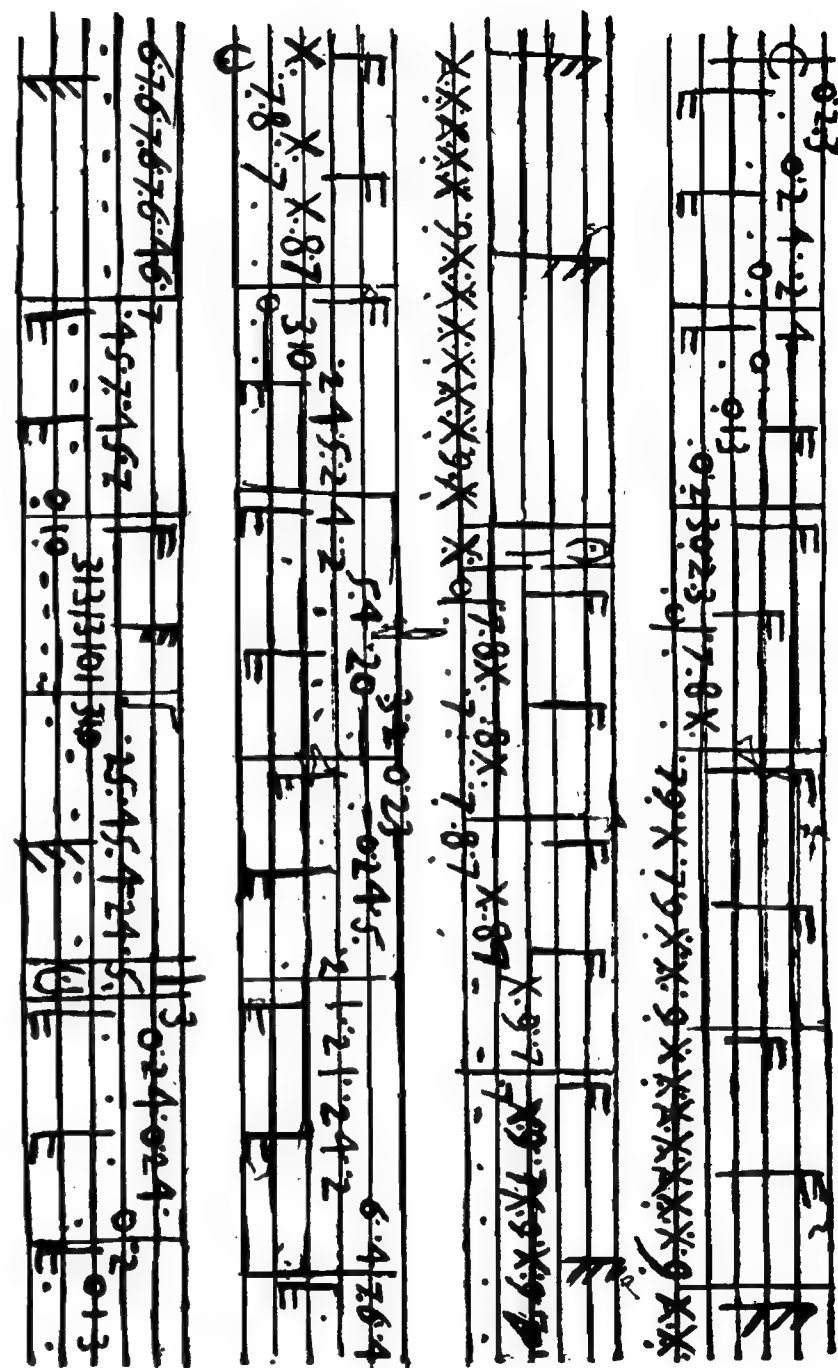


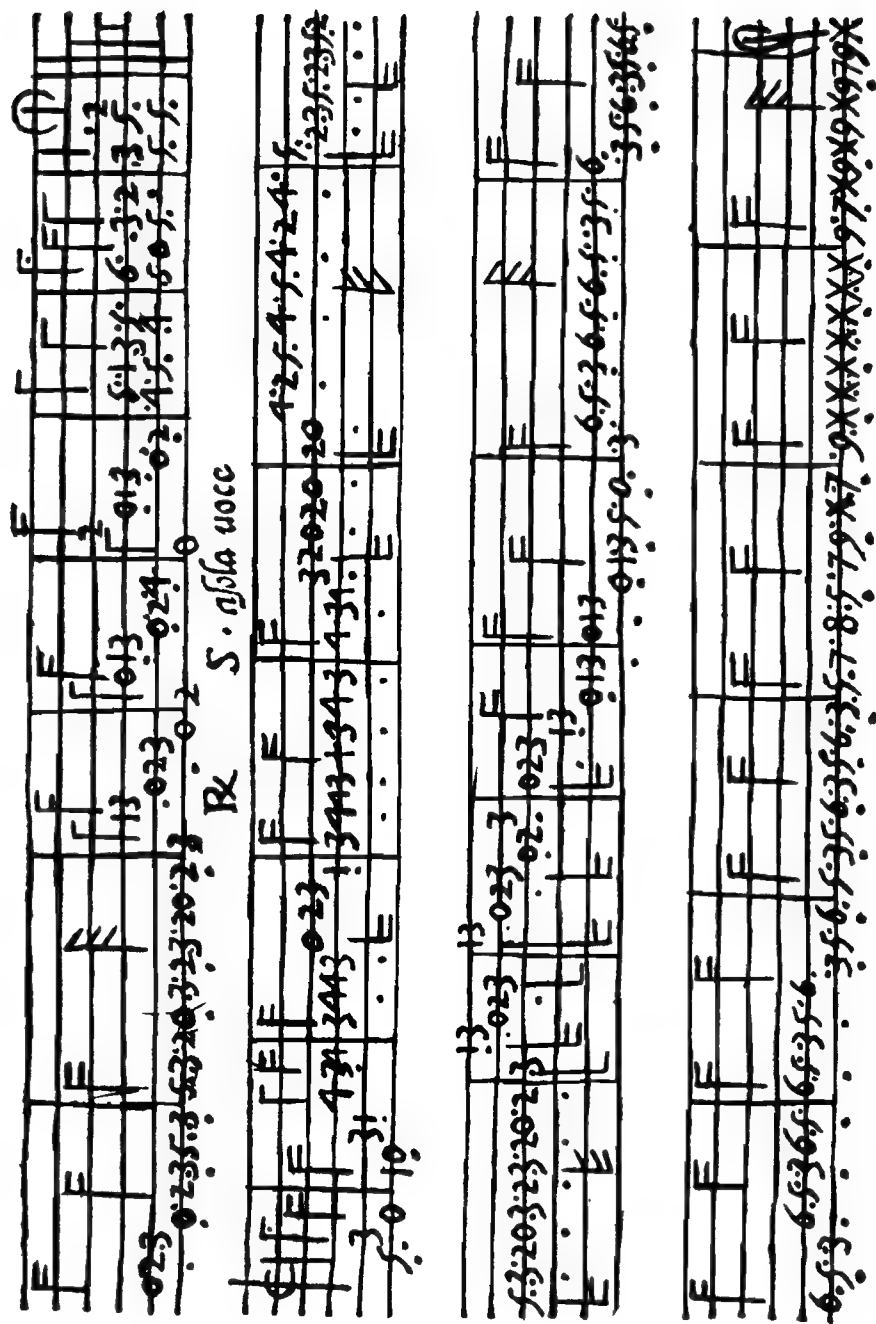
Fourth Example



Other examples of *ricercari* for one voice will follow and are provided to fulfill the debt of my promise in Chapter XVIII. I speak here of *gropetti* and *tirate*, intabulated to facilitate the use of the bow and to provide practical examples of diminutions, as well as examples of playing beyond the frets, both on the body of the lute and at the very end of the fingerboard of the viol. Following these examples, I shall provide, also as promised, a madrigal to be played on the lute. Then another promise will be fulfilled, in that you will be given instruction on playing a viol with only four or even only three strings.

Ricercar Primo



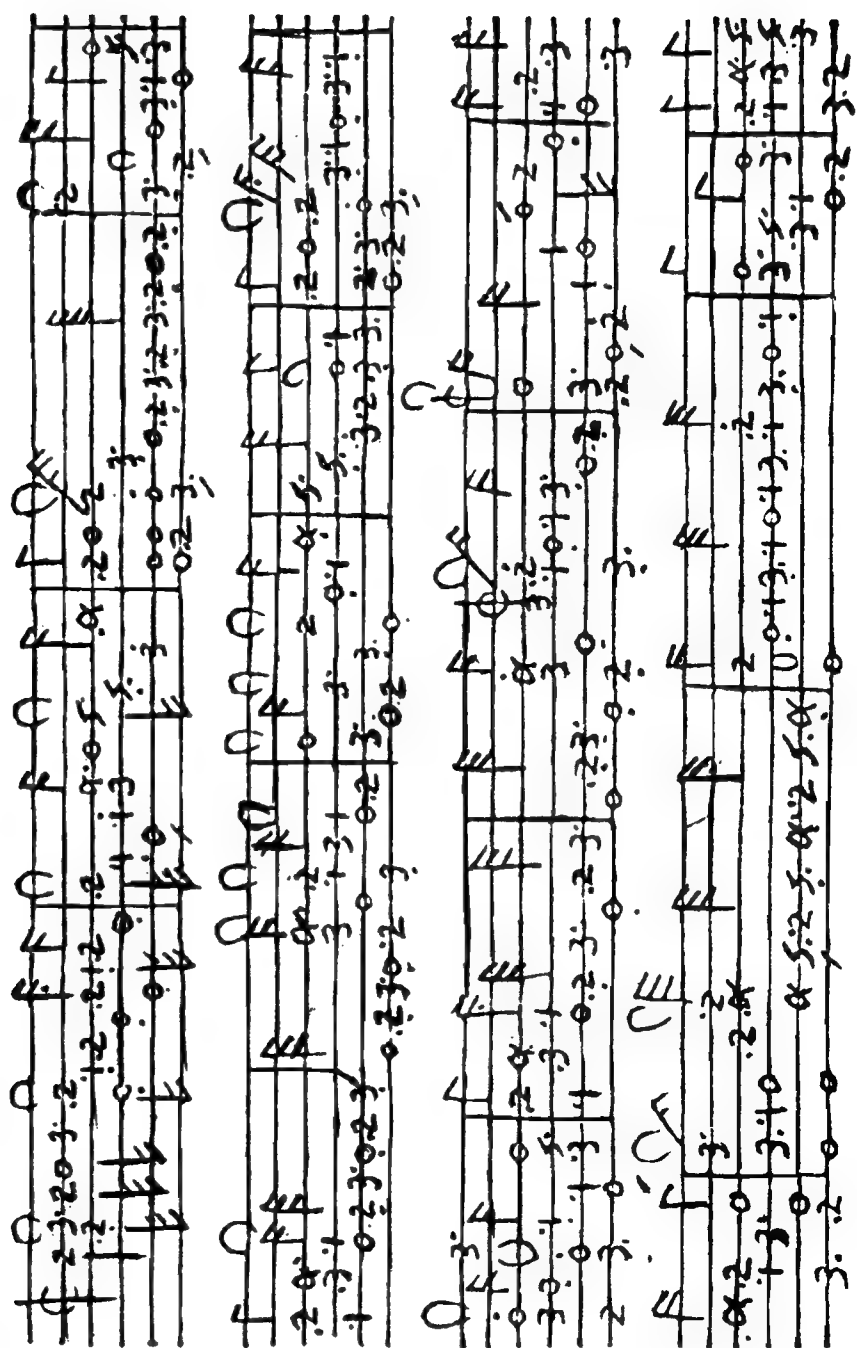
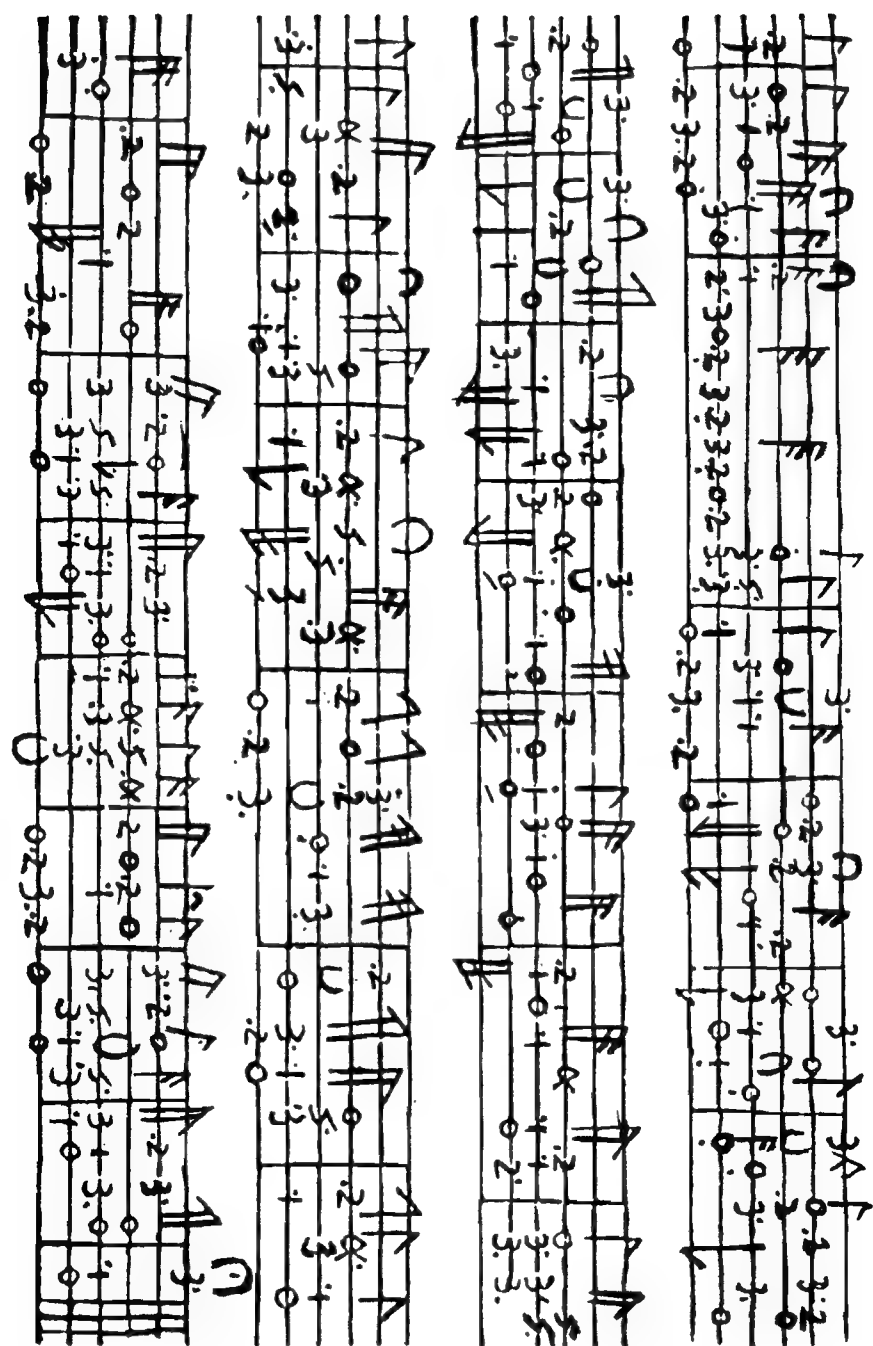


Chapter XXI

REASONS FOR HAVING WRITTEN THE RICERCARI

Dear readers, the ricercari for one voice were written specifically for you to learn how to do diminutions, ending with *grop-petti*; they are intabulated for practicing the proper use of the bow in comfortable positions. I also wanted you to know how to play diminutions beyond the frets. With respect to explanations, one certainly could have said and done much more than I did with these examples. I avoided this, however, since I was aware of the high intellectual capacities of my readers. As you know, little suffices for much and, as the proverb goes, for a good student, only a few words need be said. I certainly have followed that saying, and thereby leave others the opportunity to add their own writings on the subject. Indeed, I ask other intellectuals, who are so disposed, please to give me their suggestions and corrections. I say this in earnest, as an expression of good will toward my brethren.

Now I shall give you a madrigal as an example to follow in playing the lute, as I had promised. Then I shall describe a tuning procedure which will permit playing on only four or even three strings, any diatonic composition. Note that you should try to play the madrigal first in the usual manner, without special tablature symbols, and then with the symbols. I commend this sequence to you, having provided both versions at considerable printing cost to help you see the value of tablature written with the special symbols.



METHOD OF TUNING THE VIOL WITH ONLY FOUR STRINGS

Now I shall fulfill my promise to show you how to tune a viol so as to play comfortably any diatonic composition, not only with five or six strings, but with only four. First, with respect to tuning of the viol with five or six strings, there is nothing more I can say, that has not been said before in the Rubertina, where you have been given the first, second and third tunings which are used when playing with six strings. There is also the practice of playing up a fourth, which satisfies requirements for playing with five strings. We need yet to develop a method for use when there are but three or four strings.

First, in discussing the ability to play with only four strings, music which has been recently composed, it should be understood that we are talking about the four lowest strings on the instrument, since these strings seldom break and are seldom defective. The top two strings are often defective, however, and do tend to break. Since the bass viol is the most important of the sizes, as was said in the Rubertina, it needs to be tuned, under these circumstances, so that the second string is a third above the first; the third string, a fourth above the second string, and the fourth string, also a fourth above the third string. This tuning should be followed in the same way on the tenor, alto and treble viols, that is, each one as a solo instrument. In consort, the tenor and alto are tuned a fifth above the bass and the treble, a fifth above the tenor and alto. If the viols cannot sustain a tuning in these proportions, you should try the approach given in Chapter X of the Rubertina, on the tuning of viols. If you know that tuning, you will be able to play any composition quite easily. If you have six strings to use, you can use that tuning also, but the parts will be tuned in fifths over each other. That is, the tenor and alto a fifth above the bass, and the treble also a fifth above the tenor and alto.

The following will be the rules with illustrations, which are the same as in the Rubertina. Not, however, that the names of the strings are given only for the bass. For the other parts, the numerical intervals between the strings of the tenor and treble are given instead, and these are applicable if the instruments are played indi-

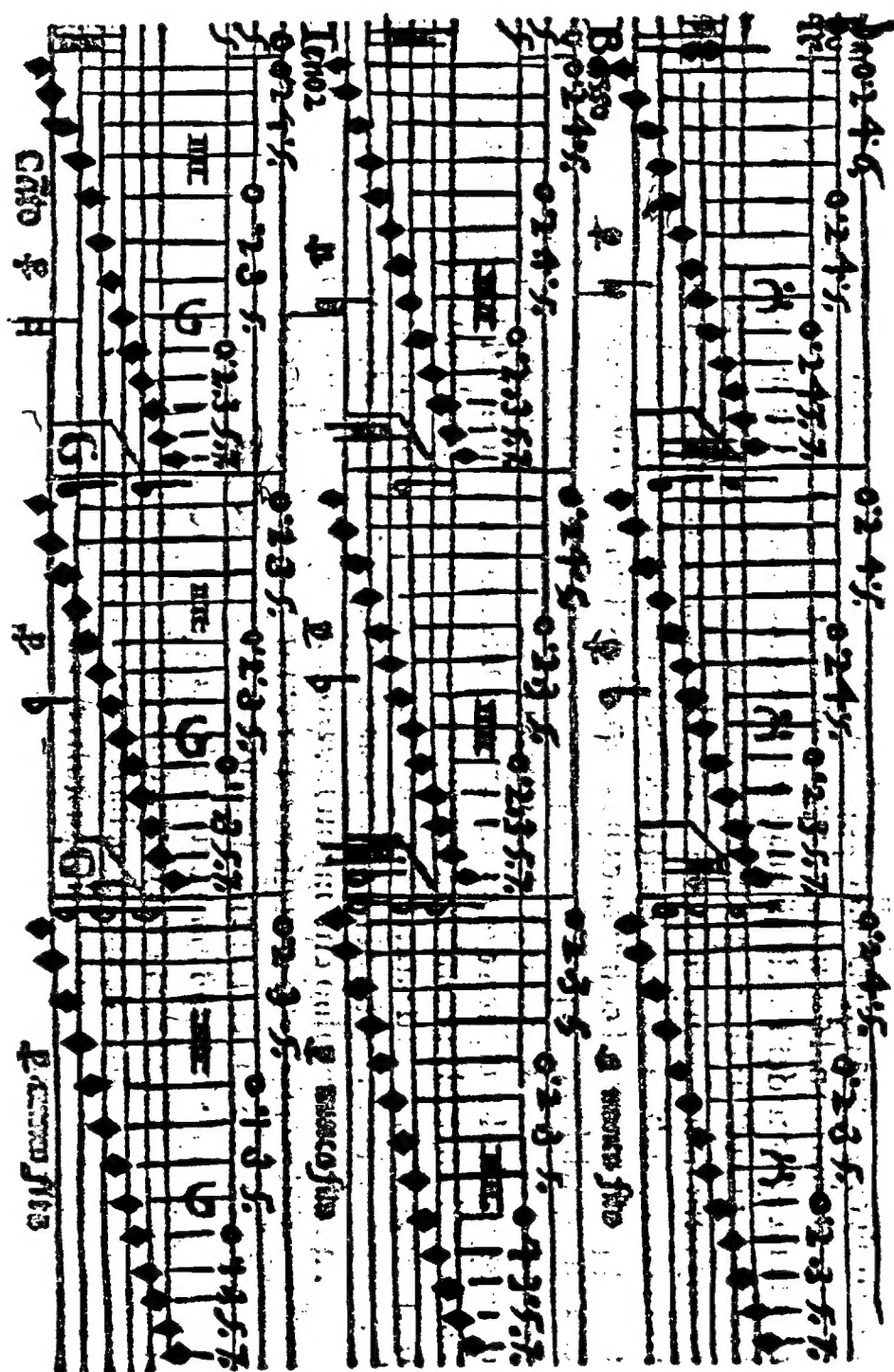
vidually or in consort. They should be interpreted as being tuned each in fifths, as was said earlier. The bass will suffice for the others, assuming the same names for the strings, and the tunings of the other viols will proceed accordingly. Also note that you will be prepared, by these illustrated rules, to play anything a fifth lower, which you may do any time you play a piece in which the treble part is in a high position. To play it as written, the lowest string of the bass would have been tuned to a C (sol-fa-ut), which is in a range suitable for the treble, and the treble would have been tuned to a G (sol-re-ut). One can transpose down in the manner I described, to the key of F (fa-ut) for the bass, the key of C (sol-fa-ut) in the usual range for the tenor tuning and the treble to the key designated for it. In this way the rules you have been given for this practice have provided the method of transposing to the key of F (fa-ut) from C (sol-fa-ut) with the change of disposition required if you wish to play *specie* and consonances, one as well as the other. Then you can familiarize yourself with transposition of the tenor part written in the treble range, with tunings of G (sol-re-ut) to a more suitable tuning of C (sol-fa-ut), and you can see the results it will produce from the illustrative example. In this way you will be always in a suitable range in your tuning, although the keys may be changed. I shall say nothing more about this, except to repeat that this tuning for viols should be done with the second string a third above the first, the third string a fourth above the second string, and the fourth string a fourth over the third. Then, to tune them in consort, the tenor and alto should be tuned a fifth over the bass, and the treble a fifth over the alto and tenor. These rules are now illustrated by the following example.

The musical score is written for three parts: Bass, Tenor, and Canto. Each part is on a single staff with a treble clef. The Bass part is labeled 'Basso' and the Tenor part is labeled 'Tenor'. The Canto part is labeled 'Canto'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 above the notes. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The overall style is that of a historical musical manuscript.

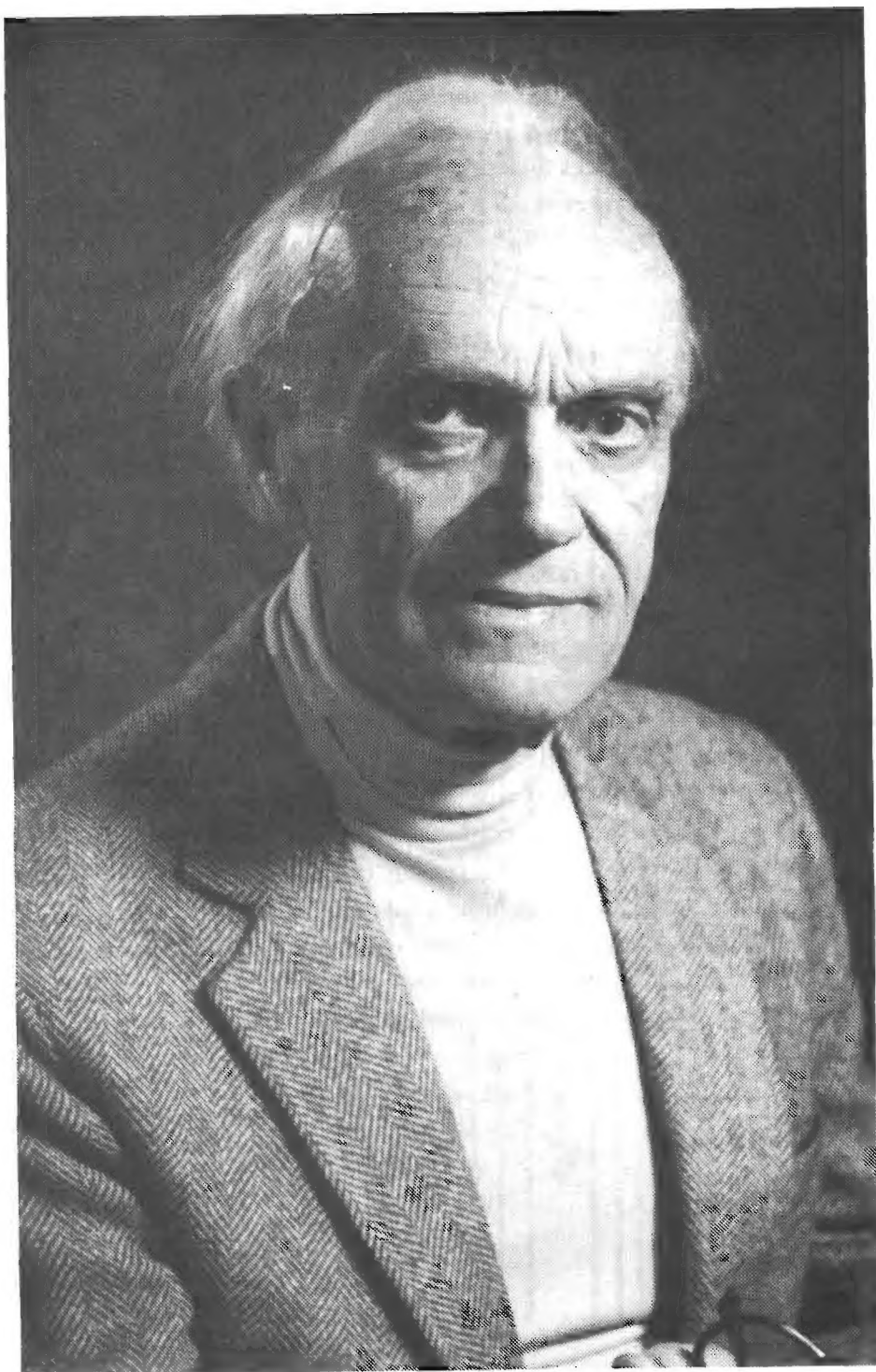
Chapter XXIII

METHOD OF TUNING TO PLAY ON ONLY THREE STRINGS

Now that you are familiar with the tuning and manner of playing on only four strings, we shall continue with a discussion of tuning the viol with only three strings. In this respect the tuning is the same in consort playing as for playing on four strings. Thus the alto and tenor will be a fifth above the bass, and the treble a fifth above the alto and tenor, the same as the tuning on four strings. But by themselves, the tuning is changed in the following manner. Whereas in the tuning of four remaining strings, the second string is tuned a third above the first and the other strings in fourths, the tuning of three remaining strings for solo playing will be in fifths, that is, the second string a fifth above the first string, and the third string a fifth above the second string. This tuning can be used also by players of the unfretted viola da braccia, since the stringing is in the usual manner. It is indeed true that this is not correct so far as fingering is concerned. I believe, however, that it is quite useful for gaining control over fingering, if one does follow the rules for playing the viol beyond the frets, as was explained in Chapter XII. The rules are demonstrated in the following illustration, as promised.



I wish to give this advice to my kind readers, that much patience is required to understand a rule or theory expressed by another person, because everyone has a somewhat different vocabulary and a different style of expression. This may be due, perhaps, to regional differences in speech and ways of saying things. Perhaps with the assistance of a common point of view and natural instinct, one can find sufficient inner strength to exercise patience, which is justified by the concept that every work that is brought to light would be incomplete if there were not something in it of intellectual significance. Although it is true that nature plays a role in all things, one should realize that works are created not without considerable effort. Yet the effort itself is not sufficient, even if it has taken five, six or more years to complete such as this one, unless it is also the culmination of one's life-long labors. But if you consider the benefits you have derived from these works, by your learning in just a short time all the things it has taken me a lifetime to discover, the mere contemplation of this fact should inspire you to exercise patience in getting to understand what has been said and to do away with all impediments which stand in the way of your studies, as I said at the conclusion of the Rubertina. With this reminder, I will add nothing further, except that I appeal to the good graces of my wise readers to accept the results of my labors as if they were the counsel of a father to his son, for what I have written is a similar expression of love and good will toward you. By the same token, I hope that you will be kind enough not to be annoyed about any omissions or errors which may have been committed in the instructions, and that you will accept the expression of my good will. My salutations to all of you!



Karl Neumann

1903 - 1982

Karl Neumann

1903 - 1982

The Viola da Gamba Society of America mourns the loss of its first president, who died on July 9 of a heart attack. Karl Neumann was born in Prosejov, Czechoslovakia, and began his musical training at the age of five, studying first the violin and later the violoncello. He attended the Universities of Munich and Vienna, and received a doctor of law degree from the University of Prague. His later musical training included cello studies with Ladislav Zelinka at the Prague Conservatory, Hugo Becker in Berlin, and Enrico Mainardi in Rome. He took part in various chamber music ensembles, first in Prague and later with the London Polish String Quartet.

During World War II Karl served in the Free Czech Brigade, and was awarded the Service Medal of Great Britain. After the war, he came to the United States, where he was employed as a cellist with the Columbus Symphony from 1945 to 1947, and with the Pittsburgh Symphony from 1947 to 1961. As early as his student years he developed a strong interest in ancient instruments, particularly the viola da gamba, and it was during his years in Pittsburgh that he, together with Colin Stern, founded the Musica Antiqua, an ensemble dedicated to the preservation and performance of early music. As a cellist and violist da gamba, he concertized for many years in both the United States and Western Europe.

In addition to his performing activities, Dr. Neumann also pursued an active academic career, serving on the faculties of Ohio State University, Duquesne University, the University of Southern California, and Emory University. He joined the faculty of the University of Southern Mississippi in 1961, teaching musicology and cello. There he established the USM String Quartet and organized and conducted the Collegium Musicum. Especially memorable among the Collegium's performances was his production of Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. After his retirement, the University named him Professor Emeritus of Music, and he remained active as a soloist, ensemble and orchestra musician, cello teacher, and scholar.

Members who have read the smooth, articulate prose of his articles in this and other journals will not be surprised to learn that Karl was a sensitive and expressive poet as well as a fine musicological writer. His most recent publication, *Amphions Leier*, is a collection of autobiographical impressions of the war years, famous composers, and life in Mississippi. It is available from Mary Rosenberg, Inc., 17 West 60th Street, New York, NY 10023. Another book is currently in the process of publication.

In recent years Karl and his wife Editha were often prevented from attending our annual Conclaves, but Editha writes that "Karl watched with great interest as the membership of the Society grew and the Conclaves moved to new locations. He cherished the kind letters he received from many members," and looked forward to every new issue of *VdGSA News* and the *Journal*. Now that he and some of the other founding members are gone, I feel that their love and enthusiasm for the revival of early music, their dedication to the community of viol players, and their joy in active musicianship have become a legacy to all of those who today carry on the work they began nearly a quarter of a century ago."

Karl's death came as a shock to all of us because, with his drive and energy, he somehow seemed imperishable. He will be remembered by this Society for his human warmth, his sense of humor, his many musical and scholarly accomplishments, and his far-ranging knowledge, of which he gave freely. Karl Neumann was an outstanding musician, teacher, scholar, and, above all, a beloved friend.

Contributor Profiles

Bruce Bellingham received three degrees from the University of Toronto. He was a member of the faculty at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, before joining the Music Department at the University of Connecticut, where he is now professor of Music History. He has served on the faculty of the VdGSA Conclaves, and was President of the Society from 1977 to 1979. He has directed Collegium Musicum groups at Eastman and Connecticut, and during 1977-79 was Chairman of the Collegium Musicum Committee for the American Musicological Society. He has edited *bicinia* publications for Bärenreiter and A-R Editions, and written articles and reviews for *The New Grove*, *Early Music*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, *Notes*, *CAUSM Journal*, and this and other journals.

Richard D. Bodig is an economist by profession, serving as Economic Advisor to General Counsel on Antitrust Litigation for Mobil Oil Corporation. He has received degrees from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and Columbia University, and is an accomplished linguist with knowledge of nine foreign languages. He has previously published "Silvestro Ganassi's *Regola Rubertina*: Revelations and Questions" in the 1977 issue of this *Journal*, and is preparing an edition of Vincenzo Ruffo's *Capricci in Musica* for Ogni Sorte Editions. He has performed and recorded as a singer with Cappella Nova, the Desoff Choirs, and the Canby Singers; voice and viols with the mixed consort Arcadia; and on viols with Amici Cantanti.

Margaret Anne Downie has received her academic degrees from Skidmore College, SUNY at Binghamton, and West Virginia University at Morgantown. She has published articles for the *Journal* and *Newsletter* of the American Musical Instrument Society, and serves as Membership Registrar for that organization. Dr. Downie plays piano, organ, and clarinet in addition to viola da gamba, and directs the Collegium Musicum at the University of South Dakota, where she serves as Associate Curator and Adjunct Professor of Music, The Shrine to Music Museum and Center for Study of the History of Musical Instruments.